

SAVING KANSAS

CLERGY ON SOULS AND CITIES IN AN AMERICAN STATE

BY

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Chapter 1

To Serve or Save

Throughout the history of the United States religious leaders have been active in political and civic activities. The official separation of church and state has always existed in American culture, but it seems to only keep government from being religious, and does not keep churches from being political. When members of the clergy become involved in politics and civic issues they shape the communities they serve. Some clergy members contribute to their communities by creating an environment of support where bible study and weekly sermons provide a spiritual outlet. Other clergy members feel compelled to be personally active in local politics and civic issues in order to “better” their communities. Religious leaders are fixtures in the communities in which they serve and their influence can be extensive. Some clergy may consider moral issues and the moral guidance of their congregants as most important to their work, while others may consider community action and civic betterment to be most important.

Understanding the scope of clergy influence is important to the study of American politics. An increase of political interest and action within a community can change public opinion, voter turnout, campaign contributions, and policy formation. Religious leaders can use their influence and the trust of their congregants to peak interest around issues they feel are important, and spark motivation among individuals who may not have otherwise become involved. Political scientists continually strive to understand the reasons in which mobilization occurs around social issues. This mobilization enables religious groups to shape American

democracy due to the sheer number of participants they reach. Religious leaders have unique access to this potential political force, as they have a captive audience that returns regularly to listen intently.

Members of the clergy may not only feel driven to influence their congregations, but may hope to extend the message of their church beyond its walls. They may also wish to enhance their local communities by changing policies on wedge issues, such as, education or crime prevention. Current research suggests that numerous factors contribute to the motivation of religious leaders to become involved, but little is known about why some clergy will decide to become deeply involved while others avoid it altogether. Scholars have tried to answer this question since the 1960's. They conclude that everything from radicalization, social theology, and denomination may influence individual clergy to become involved. This research attempts to understand why clergy choose the levels of political action that they do, through a comparison of their positions on moral and civic issues. They share, in their own words, what is important to them, what drives them, and what they perceive their role to be within their congregations, and their communities.

Ministers are elites within their communities and each of them have goals about what they wish to accomplish in their role. Some have a political agenda and cannot imagine the role as pastor without being politically active, while others consider their status only as a tool to provide support and guidance. Many pastors fit somewhere in between and may inform the congregation of political issues, but encouraging knowledge instead of action. How do elites decide where to draw the line between knowledge and action, and what issues are important

enough to inspire political action? A comparison of the level of political action among clergy, while considering the socioeconomic conditions within the community, may explain whether the type of political action is determined more by personal interest or community need.

This study includes only the state of Kansas. With a population of nearly three million, it is known for its sprawling flat farmlands and rural communities.¹ Kansas was settled predominantly by German immigrants among the trail blazers headed west across the plains. Kansas was drawing settlers with political motives; “squatters” or settlers that had come from neighboring Missouri were trying to settle every space so that it was not available to newcomers from slavery-free states.² Newcomers from New England were also “squatting” across Kansas in hopes that their settlement efforts would keep Kansas from filling with pro-slave inhabitants. Throughout the history of Kansas people within the state have been engaged in a battle of morality politics. While slavery and alcohol legislation are a part of a morally active Kansas past, abortion and education are the issues that exist today.

The legislation surrounding these issues is important to the future of Kansas, and the action of many political figures will determine which direction new legislation will take. Clergy are community leaders and if politically active may be included among those that have the power to influence politics and policies. Although myriad religious affiliations are active within Kansas, 50% of the population (or over 1.3 million people) did not claim a religious affiliation in the 2000 federal census.³ If legislation is influenced by religious groups, then only half of the citizens will be participating through churches. Further, if church leaders are most concerned with the state of morality in Kansas, it will be evident through an examination of Kansas clergy.

The Historical Connection of Religion and Politics

The separation of church and state in the United States has been maintained since the country's birth. The extent to which separation exists has been topic of discussion among scholars for as long, and is an American political fundamental that mirrors the historical link between religion and politics. Alexis de Tocqueville visited the United States in the 1830's and he wrote, "Religion, which among the Americans never takes part directly in the government of society, must therefore be considered as the first of their political institutions; for if it does not give them the taste for liberty, it greatly facilitates their use of it." Upon Tocqueville's arrival he found that the United States was a very religious place, and although it was kept from affecting government, it directly and deeply affected the individual man and woman.⁴ This observation of American society is nearly 200 years old, and is still true today. It can be argued that religion is still a major American political institution that the people use to facilitate liberty, or it can be argued that it is an institution that seeks to oppress the liberties of the people. In both cases, religion undeniably acts as a political institution.

Only 50 years after Tocqueville's writing, the United States Supreme Court began hearing challenges to the Free Exercise Clause. This clause, included within the First Amendment to the United States Constitution read, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof".⁵ Court case topics included polygamy, the use of alcohol, and the participation in secular events in public schools. An example of this can be seen when Jehovah's Witnesses practice their right to refuse participation in patriotic events, such as allegiance to the flag exercises. Other religious

minorities battled the courts to have their liberties recognized. They included Sabbatarians, Amish, and eventually anti-religious groups, such as atheists. In all cases spanning nearly two centuries the court has had to reinterpret the law; in some instances re-writing it.⁶ Judges have interpreted the constitution differently over time, and only within the last forty years has there been more understanding and sympathy expressed for religious minorities⁷. This is illustrated by the case of *Wisconsin v. Yoder* in which the court decided that Amish parents could not face prosecution for refusing to send their children to school after the completion of elementary grades.⁸

Religion and politics are not only interwoven because the court must define and redefine the scope of religion in American society, but they are linked because of the churches ability to organize their congregations for a specific political cause. American churches have served as rallying points for many social movements. The Civil Rights movement is an example of how religious groups can act as a political institution. African American's suffered harshly from the Jim Crow segregation laws due to lack of organization and had few political opportunities. Morris and McAdam⁹ argue that there was always a potential for the Civil Rights Movement due to the "pool of participants of church-people" that simply lacked an organizational base for their expression. It was not until the church communities brought people together physically, emotionally, and intellectually that they were able to organize and express their discontent publicly. This connection to each other empowered people, and they supported one another in the resistance of social injustices.¹⁰ In some cases church involvement did not end with being a gathering point. Pastors and church leaders often organized political protests and boycotts that stimulated political action elsewhere. Examples of individual cases

illustrate how churches created a grassroots initiative that sparked national political movements. It is possible that only in times of intense social conflict do churches become as active as they were in these examples, and it is nearly impossible to predict which cultural issue will create the next great social movement.

In June of 1953 the black community staged a bus boycott in Baton Rouge Louisiana that said to have been 100 percent effective by its organizer, Reverend T.J. Jemison. Ministers from around the city of Baton Rouge were called upon to join the United Defense League (UDL). This organization enabled them to unite the church leaders in the community and create a decision making body that would direct the mass boycott. They recognized that there would be too many differences among the individual churches, and they needed to be a united force in order to not succumb to the “white power structure” that sought to splinter their efforts.¹¹ The second arm of the movement, led by the UDL, was comprised purely of the local black churches and their congregants. Morris describes the role of the local black churches as the institutional link to the masses.

As the congregants in Baton Rouge were making history for middle class black Americans, the message of the movement was spreading and it inspired the same action in other southern communities. Ministers from these communities sought the guidance of T.J. Jemison. As the UDL grew in size and scope it came to include ministers from Montgomery, Alabama, Ralph Abernathy and Martin Luther King, Jr.¹² The Baton Rouge bus boycott had proven that the segregation laws could be successfully challenged and that the mobilization of the black congregants had the potential to bring social change. As the movement progressed

the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) was created in order to act as the decentralized arm of the black church¹³. SCLC leadership, which included Dr. King, prepared congregants for protest by encouraging them to become familiar with literature and introducing them to direct action workshops. The activist ministers within the organization preached that a “good Christian” was one who sought change in “sinful” social conditions. In an interview with attorney C.B. King, Dr. King’s ability to mobilize the church people and achieve social change is described:

King served up religion in a rather unique fashion as a militant force for the first time. King was using religion as a key to inspire a perception which moved the masses in what could be conservatively considered the direction of revolution.¹⁴

This discussion of King’s actions describe how the churches in the United States had shifted from creating social capital within communities to providing rallying points for large social political movements. While scholars like Morris and McAdams describe in great detail the structural elements in the civil rights movement that led to its success, other scholars feel that it is culture that explains why church people mobilize.

In a piece that attempts to explain why the civil rights movement found its strength among politicized religious views, Williams suggests that Morris’ idea of “culture content” takes a back seat to the structural conditions, and when examined more closely the cultural aspect may explain more about the mobilization of the masses. Further, he argues that the “insurgent ideational strands are an enduring aspect of church culture that consistently inspire social action independent of structural conditions”.¹⁵

What is the “culture content” of America’s churches today? This analysis examines how the mobilization of church people has evolved from civil rights to moral rights. Issues that inspire action among clergy are abortion, gay rights, poverty, and drug abuse. Through a close examination of these issues it is possible to uncover whether clergy are more likely to act in the interest of saving their communities or the souls of their congregants. Understanding their priorities will fill a gap in the literature by identifying the characteristics of the new generation of mobilized church people.

History and Definition of Morality Politics

The scope of the moral agenda in the state of Kansas can be understood by examining the framework of pastoral political activity. Although possibly created and manipulated by the most conservative Kansas citizens, the success of the agenda may lie in the hands of the clergy that can choose to promote moral interest or place their resources into community issues. Moral agendas are largely found where Christian conservatives call for a return to traditional values regarding gender and sexuality.¹⁶ Doan and Williams focus on morality policy that materializes within communities where the return of values is expected, stating that they usually are centered on issues that are moral and not material. For example, in Kansas, conservatives have historically focused on abortion, death penalty, and sexual education.

Morality politics are important to many voters. Voters often identify with these issues because they affect individual and personal rights. People need little information in order to participate in a moral argument because the subject matter is not technical and they often have a stake in any policy outcome that may be generated by the issue. Policy specialists who are

present in other areas of urban governance rarely exist in the wake of a moral debate. In fact, many may be involved solely to ensure that their position is protected from “status quo challengers”.¹⁷ Haider-Markel and Meier¹⁸ study morality politics as it pertains to gay and lesbian rights, and they find that not only are citizens free to mobilize around morality issues, but the lack of an information barrier offers an easy way for politicians to mobilize around issues and build a reputation for themselves. Conversely, they can use their moral platform to label an opponent, possibly as taking the “unpopular” side of an issue. A morality issues platform may also be utilized by interest groups or clergy in search of local support or new members.

Scholars continue to define and classify moral issues in order to understand political mobilization around them and to understand what enables the success or failure of moral agendas in various American communities. In order for a moral political agenda to succeed in a community there must be a consensus among the people that a change in values is needed. Doan and Williams¹⁹ suggest that the change is a return to traditional values driven by Christian conservatives. I argue that only a few conservative pastors within the state of Kansas work with other community elites to further a moral agenda, and their community action is more prevalent. Do the political issues in Kansas constitute a moral political agenda? It is necessary to have working definitions of what is meant by morality politics, moral political agenda, and social justice issues. There has been no shortage of scholarship in this area, and therefore, there are many ways to define these subjects.

Hunter²⁰ defines morality politics as politics of the body, and refers to them as a “cluster of public issues concerned with the most private of all matters: the body.” Further, Hunter argues that the debate over these issues has come from an American culture war in which society is at odds with values and belief systems. Many social scientists site a culture war as the cause of social conflict within the United States. The debate generates many important points regarding the society and American politics, but it reaches beyond the scope of this research. By explaining the relationship between clergy and the moral agenda, it is possible to uncover their motivations for political action and identify the issues in which they become involved.

“Culture” has been used in the social sciences to mean “beliefs, values, and affective commitments”.²¹ In her study of morality politics, Elaine Sharp finds that the scope of morality politics and issues associated with them are dealt with in a variety of ways based on location. Her study includes different American cities, and she explains how government officials will deal with moral political issues differently. Each community faces a unique local political culture, economy, and intergovernmental influences that effect activities such as protests, elections, and local legislation. The data comprised from the clergy within the state of Kansas support this theory and it is clear that different communities within the state are unique based upon the political climate Sharp describes.

Scholars may define morality politics by explaining their origin, for example, the most salient issues that form around religious beliefs and/or partisanship, but this definition is too broad to apply to the framework of Kansas pastoral activism.²² Instead, classification of issues made by Djupe and Gilbert²³ is more appropriate. They define “primary moral concern issues”

as being: sexual politics, social vices and religion's role in society and government. Obviously sexual politics will include the issue of abortion, but few realize that gay rights have also fallen under this category. This is because not only are gay citizens struggling for civil rights, but the nature of the debate is so deeply ingrained in religious belief, it also becomes a "moral concern issue". Social vices include issues such as gambling and pornography, and the debate over religion's role is vast and may range from religious interest groups to active pastors. For the purpose of this analysis, the framework of Djupe and Gilbert is also used, because they clearly identify the importance of "social justice issues" and these are equally attributed to active clergy. Issues defined as social justice issues are hunger and poverty, the environment, education, civil rights, women, and unemployment issues.

Within the study of Kansas pastors, there is reference to sexual education in the public school system as well as the curricula surrounding science standards. When the nature of education discussed is "sexual", it will bear that label in order to appropriately classify the issue. Throughout this discussion there is distinction between two issue classifications, one is "moral issues" and the other is "social issues". This classification creates a consistent structure when comparing the actions of and activities to which Kansas clergy devote their energy and resources.

By definition, a moral agenda is a call for a return to traditional values regarding gender and sexuality.²⁴ In order to be a successful movement, guiding people back to the perceived appropriate values, *and* produce societal change it must have successful leadership. Interest groups, politicians, political parties, the media, and religious leaders are all different areas of

community leadership that could influence the public. They have the potential to promote or reject a moral political agenda. Morality politics, specifically regarding American values, are rooted in religious beliefs.²⁵ Therefore, the relationship between pastor and community is important. Their actions, suggestions, and guidance shape culture, values, beliefs, and will determine the success or failure of the moral agenda from Kansas community to community.

Looking Forward

This study is an in-depth look at how Kansas pastors describe the way they perceive issue importance and the way it influences their level of political activity as it pertains to their church duties. Ultimately, while a few pastors become highly politically active, the average Kansas pastor is more concerned with issues that directly affect their “flock”. These may include the economy, family issues, or spiritual and religious questions, and exclude abortion, the environment, or stem cell research. While they have very specific stances on a variety of moral issues, most ministers do not consider these issues to be of the utmost important in their congregants’ lives. The pastors surveyed represent many different communities from across the state, and therefore, illustrate how a pastor’s decision to be politically active is impacted by their community, its people, and its unique challenges.

Chapter 2 contains an in depth look at two specific denominations selected for this study. Studying all denominations of pastors in Kansas would be an impossible task due to the large variety of active denominations. Instead, the Baptists and Pentecostal denominations were selected to receive surveys and offer their opinions on important issues and what type of political action they take on as pastors. These two Protestant denominations have been chosen

because they are common throughout Kansas, and they have a great deal of diversity among their members. By studying groups who share similarities as well as differences, it is possible to see how pastoral influence may vary. While many of these churches take their theology and religious doctrine from larger organizations, they have a great deal of autonomy within their communities to lead their congregations as they choose. An examination of diversity in religious leadership may indicate the level of impact ministers have on the Kansas moral and social political agendas when they are in a role as a political elite.

Chapter 3 illustrates the importance of Kansas as a research backdrop. The state's characteristics, history, and demographics set the stage for a valuable study. The demographic elements, history of the moral struggle in state politics, and issues that are pertinent to local politics are included in this chapter in order to describe how this research contributes to the larger body of work in the political science discipline. As well as introducing Kansas as the location of the research, the pastors are introduced through their demographic profiles, and quotes dealing with how they perceive their role as minister.

Chapter 4 contains an examination of the study of clergy. With 30 years of history, the study of America's ministers has evolved throughout time. The early studies focused on the role of a church and pastor as a community resource; today researchers are interested in more detail, uncovering how the aspects of a minister's socialization and their pastorate credentials determine the nature of their leadership. Also included within chapter 4 is the examination of the political nature of clergy and a discussion of the studies that have illustrated the likelihood for them to become politically involved. For this analysis, the clergy have been categorized into

political action levels according to the types of activities in which they participate, and the frequency with which they do so. By unveiling the motives and actions of the pastors, it is possible to then describe the priorities of these religious leaders.

Opinions on issue importance and perceptions of their congregants have been shared by the pastors within their own words, and they are used throughout Chapter 5 to illustrate how ministers approach their pastoral duties. Political wedge issues are also discussed throughout this research in order to illustrate which issues motivate clergy into political action. Ministers are asked questions regarding abortion, crime, and public school curricula. It is clear through their discussion of these issues that most ministers are not regularly politically active. However, there are still a few ministers who are highly active and they consider political involvement to be among the most important of their pastoral duties. This elevated level of activism is important to understand; it is the exception rather than the rule.

Chapter 5 illustrates how many ministers are highly-active, and reveals whether the highly-active pastors share ideologies, locations, or positions on wedge issues in common. This chapter contains the heart of my argument: pastors are for the most part only active on issues which directly affect their congregants. When they do show increased levels of political action, it is centered on issues, such as, sex education policy, family problems, and the economy. Additionally, considered within the chapter are the political actions of pastors examined through two contextual factors, one- rural or urban location of the pastor, and another – ideologies. While there is a great deal of prior work dedicated to the general study of clergy, there is little that specifically considers the location of the communities in which they serve. Are

politically active pastors more conservative ideologically? If so, do they reside predominantly in rural or urban areas of the state? The answers to these questions may prove to play a critical role in understanding the driving force behind clergy political action.

Chapter 2

Denominations: Religion and Political Influence

The denominations selected for this study are both conservative Christian. While they have this in common, Baptists and Pentecostals share little else. Pentecostals readily identify and align themselves with the Christian Right, while Baptists are more hesitant to label themselves in such a staunchly conservative fashion.²⁶ Although Baptists are generally more moderate than Pentecostals, they are also vocal and active in their support for Christian values within American politics. Both may contain a number of politically active congregants, and members who are not already active may respond to issue positions of their pastors and the lobbying efforts made by Christian organizations.

Traditionally, conservative Christians, or evangelicals, are known for keeping strict separation between spiritual and political matters.²⁷ However, conservative Christians changed their approach to religion and politics with the onset of the more liberal American culture of the 1960's. Pentecostal and religious broadcasting professional, Pat Robertson exemplifies the evolution from minister to political activist with his bid for the Republican presidential nomination in 1988. He ran on an ultra conservative platform, suggesting the elimination of the Departments of Education and Energy,²⁸ and he successfully mobilized voters that were younger, less affluent, and much more conservative than traditional republicans.²⁹ Pat Robertson's ability to mobilize enough voters to best fellow Republican candidates, Vice President George Bush and Jack Kemp in the Iowa caucus, is only one example of how these denominations can be powerful players within American Politics. Although withdrawing from

the race, Robertson's campaign efforts enabled the future mobilization of Christians in politics. His campaign organization eventually became the Christian Coalition and it picked up where the Moral Majority had ended in 1986.³⁰ As one of the country's most visible grassroots political organizations, it assists evangelicals nationwide seeking state and local office.

Baptist and Pentecostal: Denominations Rooted in Kansas

The political actions of clergy are influenced by many factors, and the denominations in which they serve may be the most significant determinant in whether their political actions are supported or inhibited. This study of pastors in Kansas is focused solely on USA Baptists and Pentecostal clergy from across the state. Defining who they are, explaining their backgrounds, and uncovering what their influences are within Kansas, is important to understanding the degree to which they may impact state politics. First, in order to understand a clergy study of these denominations it is necessary to clearly define terms used in labeling clergy and categorizing the nature of their political actions. Second, a brief summary of how the Baptist and Pentecostals came to worship in Kansas and a look at the doctrine that guides them provides information on their core beliefs and motivations. Finally, the history of the Christian Right is discussed and its influence on the politics of the state. Due to research limitations, opinions and views of only these two denominations are included. With more time and financial resources it would be valuable to incorporate additional denominations and pastoral input. Although limited in scope, this study may provide a basic framework in evaluating Kansas pastors and enable political scientist researchers to compare the actions of these denominations with others.

There are numerous labels that are associated with religious denominations, for example, conservative Protestant, Evangelical, or mainline Protestant, are ways of categorizing various religious groups. The denominations included within this study are both Protestant. While few would argue that they are generally considered conservative in nature, determining the degree of conservatism within them is beyond the scope of this study. Instead, it is possible to examine the nature of clergy actions within denominations that are known for their conservative disposition.

Every religious denomination has its own history and theological traditions. The rules and practices among different groups may be as diverse as the congregants who utilize them for worship. Because there is such diversity within the religious community, a definition of terms is necessary in order to fully describe the characteristics of the groups who are being studied. Both the Baptists and Pentecostal denominations are Protestant. While the Baptists and the variations of Baptists combined make up the largest Protestant denomination in America, the Pentecostal denomination is the most diverse from within regarding belief and traditions among the inner sects. To avoid confusion between religious and political conservatism, many scholars have used the term “evangelical” to describe conservative Protestants.³¹ While many clergy will label their denominations as such, the term can apply to different ideological perspectives as well as the methods with which they convey their beliefs. However, use of the term evangelical is also used to describe the Christian Right, and so it is not the term which is used to describe the churches and pastors within the study of Kansas.

Pentecostal and Baptist denominations are included in this study for several reasons. First, both religious traditions are deeply rooted within the state of Kansas. The Baptist movement within the state began in the middle of the 19th century, while the Pentecostal movement found its first surge of membership in Topeka in 1901.³² These two denominations are common across the state and they contain a great deal of diversity. While many of the affiliated churches take the theology and their religious doctrine from the larger organizations that guide them, the clergy have a high level of autonomy within their communities to lead their congregations as they choose. This autonomy may contribute to the choices which pastors make when considering political issues in their areas. Beginning with an overview of the individual beliefs of these religious traditions is necessary before it is possible to analyze issue interest or clergy action.

The American Baptist Church USA is utilized for the study of Kansas clergy, and it was chosen because of its widespread influence and deep rooted history. While not affiliated with the Independent Baptist Church and other branches of Baptists, it is comprised of thousands of churches and boasts 1.3 million worshipers from around the country.³³ The American Baptist Historical Society is an archive and historical interpreter of this denomination. It lists itself as the oldest Baptist historical organization, founded in 1853, and claims the largest and most diverse collection of Baptist historical material. This organization serves believers and scholars as a research facility, and they are the publishers of the American Baptist Churches USA listing of all affiliated churches throughout the U.S, as well as the publisher of the American Baptist Quarterly.³⁴ This affiliation aided in the use of data collection, as it provides contact information to all American Baptist Churches USA in Kansas. The structure of the organization is

valuable to a research design, as they provide detailed explanation of their diversity, the issues in which they are interested, and details of the doctrine by which they live.

The Baptist denomination was founded on the belief in separation of church and state, their literal interpretation of the bible, and the emphasis they place on missionary work. American Baptist history extends back to the late 17th century in New England. The first American Baptist church was founded in 1638 in Rhode Island.³⁵ It is argued that the church was established in Providence and that the town's government was the first government in the U.S. which strictly divided church and state. The American Baptists also believe in the inerrancy in the Scripture and the church is made up of only men and women who have been born again.³⁶ The literal interpretation of the Bible includes avoiding the "embrace of prepared creeds" in order to ensure that the ability to interpret the Scripture is not compromised.³⁷ Finally, an identifying characteristic of the Baptist tradition is the emphasis on missionary work. The earliest Baptist missions were to India in 1813, but the importance that worshipers place on this activity continues today.

These traits define the American Baptist Church and may play a role in the political activity of its members as well as their clergy. It is possible to imagine how the nature of these core beliefs could be political. The notion of complete religious freedom is ever cherished among many denominations throughout the United States, but central to Baptist tradition. It could be argued that Baptists do not often embrace the goals of the Christian Right,³⁸ because they hesitate to mix religion and government. The Baptists' strict view of the inerrancy in the Scripture may lead them to become politically active in order to protect their beliefs. This may

include taking action on public school curricula or abortion. Further, missionary work is a form of political action. In a comprehensive study of Baptist political activity it would be valuable to know the implications of their work in other cultures. The way in which missionaries must interact with foreign governments may be a way in which they are politically active.

Baptist tradition is deeply rooted in Kansas and the rich history makes them an appropriate denomination for statewide study. The proliferation of the Baptist church was due to the focus placed upon missionary work. Many times this involves members traveling abroad to preach their ways of worship to other cultures. The spread of Baptists in the U.S. was no different. The beginning of the proliferation of Baptists in America began with the desire of Baptists to preach to the Native Americans who were numerous in the 1850's. In 1804, Isaac McCoy, a Baptist minister, began his work with American Indians. Although considered to be dangerous, he lived among them with his family and preached the church's ways within their villages. McCoy is considered to be an Apostle to the American Indians and founded four Indian missionary centers.³⁹ In 1829, he was granted permission to preach in Kansas to the Shawnee Indians and the Baptist tradition in Kansas was born. While it is not possible to know whether the Indians would have considered Mr. McCoy an Apostle, it is known that these mission workers accompanied the tribes and served them even throughout their displacement on the plains.⁴⁰ W.A. Seward Sharp authored a book on the history of Baptists in Kansas, and he argues that these early missionaries led the Baptists growth and were responsible for Baptist future in Kansas: "Baptist forces in laying the foundation for evangelism and education in Kansas for 25 years."

Similar to Baptists, the Pentecostal church in the United States is unique in the way that churches are guided by a common doctrine, but also have a great deal of diversity among the regional and small groups that operate under the Pentecostal umbrella. Unlike Baptist, the title of Pentecostal is not always found within their names. The Pentecostal denomination includes many churches that are uncommon due to a preoccupation with “bizarre practice”.⁴¹ One of the more mainstream varieties of Pentecostals is utilized for the study of clergy in Kansas. The churches that received surveys are from within the United Pentecostal Church. This denomination is well organized and dedicates resources to maintain a Kansas District. It is within this partition of the organization in which it is possible to obtain a listing of United Pentecostal Churches across the state.⁴² While the organization of the United Pentecostal Church was formed in 1945⁴³, the traditions which guide Pentecostalism are much older. Pentecostalism is said to have been born of the Holiness movement that was an outgrowth of the post-Civil War revivals.⁴⁴ The earliest preaching was argued to be by and for uneducated laymen, as the pioneer life was often emotional rather than intellectual and the teachings would appeal to the most primitive emotion.⁴⁵

Pentecostals believe, as many denominations, in the inerrancy of the Bible, but they are doctrinally focused on the power of the “Holy Spirit”. The focus on the Holy Spirit, the belief and practice of divine healing, and speaking in tongues are unique characteristics of Pentecostalism.⁴⁶ The Holy Spirit baptism was experienced by the founders of the Pentecostal church and it guides their ministries, their own baptisms, and the way in which they find salvation.⁴⁷ It is not surprising that these three unique characteristics are centered on church belief and in-church behaviors. They are considered fundamentalist in nature and often

distance themselves from the world outside the church.⁴⁸ It was not until the social change of the 1960's that they, along with other fundamentalist groups, became afraid that their traditional social and moral values would be lost.⁴⁹ This fear mobilized denominations like the Pentecostals into political action that they had otherwise avoided.

The Pentecostal denomination is valuable to the study of Kansas pastors because the religion is rooted in American pioneer life. It was in Kansas, in 1901, that Pentecostals first became publicly active in preaching their beliefs to people outside the church. The movement began in Bethel College in Topeka in 1900, where believers were filled with the Holy Spirit when they were able to speak in tongues. Seen as a marked emotional experience, a members focus was to be baptized in the spirit and so they lived at college and concentrated on this goal.⁵⁰ The events in Topeka shaped the Pentecostal religion because it was the first time they linked the Holy Spirit to speaking in tongues.⁵¹ The development was considered by believers to be evidence of the last days, and so they expanded their preaching and teaching to all who would listen.⁵² This example of Pentecostal activism is an illustration of how worshipers of this faith become publicly active when threatened. With the culture war that America is now facing and the changing moral climate within the United States it is possible that Pentecostals will again mobilize to protect their beliefs. The political actions among their clergy today may indicate whether or not they feel threatened.

Evangelical

The use of the term evangelical is powerful and with it comes a connotation that may misrepresent the population of individuals who are being described. Because the term is used

in many different ways to explain action as well as belief, it is important to consider its definition. Evangelical Protestantism is typically synonymous with strict conservative religious beliefs, it suggests literal interpretations of religious doctrine, and that a worshiper's life style is entirely guided by faith. There are many ways in which scholars and organizations have defined what constitutes an evangelical. Princeton University defines evangelicals as relating to or being a Christian church believing in personal conversion and the inerrancy of the Bible especially the four Gospels; "evangelical ... of or pertaining to or in keeping with the Christian gospel especially as in the first four books of the New Testament marked by ardent, or zealous enthusiasm for a cause".⁵³ The popular news organization PBS uses the word's root to create a literal definition. "The term originates in the Greek word "evangelion", meaning "the good news," or, more commonly, the "gospel,".⁵⁴ The use of "evangelical Protestants" instead of "mainline Protestants" aims to separate the moderate from the devout religious congregations. There is more to understanding the nature of evangelical denominations and what creates the structure for the way in which they live and worship. This understanding requires more than the use of textbook definitions.

A simple and yet functional definition of the use of this term is written by Jessyca Russell Gaver, author of Pentecostalism, 1971. She argues that the term "evangelical" or "evangelicalism" refers to doctrinal beliefs of an individual or church organization. While "evangelism" or "evangelize" are terms that refer to the ways or methods in which the work of the church is done. Olson defines what is meant by "evangelical denomination". She explains that evangelical Protestants are an American Protestant sector that has undergone widespread expansion toward the end of the twentieth century. Olson argues that they are found within

three branches of worship: fundamentalists, Evangelicals, and Pentecostals. The first branch is comprised of fundamentalists who are known for their literal interpretation of the Bible, and their devotion to spreading the gospel beyond their church families. Because both of the denominations in the study of Kansas place great emphasis on these two aspects of their faith it can be argued that they may be more inclined to participate politically than pastors from other denominations. The second classification of evangelicals is, as Olson states, Evangelical. This group is focused on the “personal conversation experience”.⁵⁵ This is where each baptized individual has chosen to acknowledge Jesus Christ as their personal savior. This trait is common among many different denominations and is not as unique. The classification according to Russell-Gaver would fall under defining their doctrinal beliefs. Olson also lists Pentecostals as a group of the evangelical Protestant denominations. Pentecostals stand out as a group because all Pentecostal churches are evangelical in both doctrine and method.⁵⁶ It is clear that the use of “evangelical” has come to mean many things. One of the many connotations is the association of the term evangelical and the Christian Right.

The Christian Right

The Christian Right is a politically active religious organization which was born from groups of conservative Christians who sought to influence election and policy outcomes. The social change of the 1960’s spawned the organization, but the action of these politically active religious groups saw their power manifest in the 1980’s on issues like abortion and homosexuality when they were able to come together across denomination lines and mobilize. Although the Christian Right is comprised of a diverse group of denominations, they share many

similarities within their beliefs. In 2004, David Campbell wrote that, “the more deep-seeded faith in the correctness of their church’s tenets leads to a sense of moral certainty.” In the same work Campbell argues that the evangelical denominations hold political potency in their potential for political activism, not their actual mobilization. Their history of periodic bursts of mobilization shape their reputation as “not a sustained effort”.⁵⁷ While there may in fact be only periodic outbursts of mobilization, the Christian Right can be quite a powerful political force when they are successfully mobilized. Their strong religious networks provide the basis for this success in organization. Further, the extreme religious commitment of evangelical worshipers enables leaders to mobilize a large number of rank and file members.⁵⁸

There are many strengths and weakness within the Christian Right, but their greatest strength is in numbers. In the 1994 elections, the total membership was reported as 5 million, and while only a small percentage may have been more than financial contributors, the activists would have numbered 200,000 at only 5 percent of membership.⁵⁹ Many scholars have argued their mobilization potential. Some cite weakness inherent in the membership such as limited education, rural locations, and a doctrinal belief in religious separatism. Others claim that changing political climate has been a powerful force in their organization. The election of Jimmy Carter in 1976 is an example of their evolution into politics, and Green argues that this prompted evangelicals to align themselves with the Republican Party. Because the Christian Right became a successful coalition in the 1976 presidential election, it is possible that the Democratic leadership of the time may have been the spark that the movement needed in order to unite the conservative groups that already existed, such as, Christian Voice, Religious Roundtable, and Moral Majority.

The Christian Right is an organization that has wielded large amounts of political power through its existence. In order to understand the agendas in which it becomes involved, and the future of the movement it is necessary to examine the beginnings of its influence and the identity of its membership. In a simplified definition, Green explains that the term “Christian Right” describes a movement that seeks to restore “traditional values” in public policy through mobilization of evangelical Protestants. Further, he depicts the movement’s origins as having begun in 1979 with the founding of the Moral Majority by Reverend Jerry Falwell, and his support of the presidential campaign of Ronald Reagan. As discussed, the number of supporters of the Christian Right is substantial, however, while they share issue interest and common goals, there has been high levels of turnover within the leadership and the organization suffers from conflict and in-fighting.⁶⁰ Aside from this conflict, groups within the Christian Right share a common concern about the liberal aspects of modern society. Issues such as: prayer in school, abortion, sexual revolution, gay rights, explicit TV and movies, pornography, and changing gender roles within society are frequently found within the conservative Christian Right political agenda and few supporters of the movement would argue their importance.⁶¹

There is an abundance of literature that details the rise, fall, and re-awakening of the Christian Right in American politics. The best way to illustrate their success and failure is by examining election years and their impact. The earliest efforts mobilized the organizations members and successfully elected President Reagan, twice. First, the focus was on voter registration of evangelicals, yielding two million new fundamentalist voters. The impact not only affected the presidential election, but there was obvious success for conservatives in the Congressional elections that followed.⁶² In preparation for Reagan’s reelection, the movement

mass circulated three books that had been published by affiliates of the National Religious Broadcasters.⁶³

In 1986, the Christian Right did not see the same success in the Congressional elections. The public release of a letter written by incumbent Representative Mark Siljander of Michigan revealed the ultra conservative ways of the movement. In it he addressed fundamentalist supporters, and asked them for their help to “break the back of Satan”.⁶⁴ Due to this exposure he lost the primary contest, and it may have been one of the early times in which the general public was exposed to how far right the organization leaned. Moderates who may have sympathized with some of the religious agenda could easily be turned off. This incident is not isolated in the movement’s history. As recently as 2004, In Kansas, incumbent Representative Dennis Moore defeated Republican challenger, Kris Kobach when his campaign took the same ultra conservative twists. The challenger became labeled an extremist when Kobach addressed gay rights issue in a direct mailing that read “I, John, take you, Larry”.⁶⁵ The voters responded, and Kobach received only 38 percent of the vote and dashed the hopes of the Christian Right by saying no to religious extremes in the House.

In 1985, Pat Robertson, a leader long connected with the Christian Right, announced his candidacy for President of the United States in the 1988 election. He enjoyed early success due to the mobilization of voters from the extreme conservative Christian audiences who were served by his broadcasts. His success even spread to Kansas when his “family values” platform nearly earned him enough votes to surpass Kansas Senator Bob Dole. During the campaign, allegations of misuse of tax exempt status plagued his organization, the Freedom Council. The

Council was dissolved in 1986 while battling an IRS lawsuit, claiming the organization had been solicited on the 700 Club repeatedly in order to pad Robertson's political endeavor.⁶⁶ When the primaries numbers were calculated he had lost badly, and even had a poor showing in his home state of Virginia. Within one month of the outcome he withdrew from the race.⁶⁷ Robertson's defeat in the primary contest may again be attributed to the ultra conservative nature of his beliefs. Sara Diamond argues that the press had a field day with Robertson and often used his Pentecostal beliefs as "ammunition" for their comments. It can be argued that the act of speaking in tongues and divine healing are ways of worship that many Americans, even other evangelicals, do not identify with, and like personal characteristics, religious beliefs can be the reason politicians face scrutiny by potential voters. When American voters cannot identify with the candidate, election becomes an impossible task.

Green, 1995, explores two possible futures for the Christian Right, one "rosy" and one "bleak". He argues that while, the Christian Right can be very successful, the individual health of the movement in each state will ultimately decided the fate of the organization. Success in the states would need to include many elements: entrepreneurial leadership, committed activists, and mobilized voters. Further, Green mentions the need for a united party, competitive candidate, and an effective campaign all in order to create a victory. This was the scenario in 1994 when the Christian Right was responsible for many Republican victories and the takeover of both houses of Congress for the first time in forty years.⁶⁸ The complex nature of American politics is clear in this example of how the organization can be successful in one election and not in the next. The candidates may have been more politically attractive for any number of reasons, the party more united, or public opinion less divided on the issues. These examples

have detailed how the Christian Right has promoted a Christian conservative agenda by working to support Republican candidates. In some instances they have celebrated victories, and in others they have sustained defeat. With so many contributing factors determining the wins and losses, it is easy to see how tumultuous the results can be. Their mobilization and their victories sporadic, but their potential mobilizing power and strength in numbers is immense and must not be ignored by other political actors.

The Christian Right in Kansas

Like many states, the Christian Right has celebrated successes and recovered from failures in Kansas. While the movement reached its peak in the 1980's, the influence of conservative politics was felt in Kansas in the 1970's. In the 1974 reelection campaign of Bob Dole conservative politics enabled him to emerge victorious. Though a conservative he had an understanding for the federal government programs that served the farmers of Kansas.⁶⁹ Drawing on the popularity of his traditional republican style he found support among Kansans, however, Dole faced uncertainty within the election due to his connection with President Nixon and the controversy that surrounded him. Through the campaign, the opposition portrayed Dole as being loyal to his party and neglectful of his home state.⁷⁰

The campaign reached a turning point when Dole decided to appeal to the morally conservative nature of the Kansas voters. Dr. Bill Roy, the Democratic challenger, was not a professional politician. Instead, he worked as a successful obstetrician. He had delivered about 5,000 babies by 1970 and provided the legal service of abortion to a handful of women.⁷¹ The focus on Dr. Roy's career changed the course of the campaign. Dole received a total of \$10,000

in 17 separate contributions from the National Right to Life PAC, as a reward for his stand against the reproductive rights of women.⁷² By labeling his opponent a “baby killer” the damage had been done to the Democratic effort. The advertisements that illustrated Dole’s link to the Nixon Administration now were seen by conservative voters as a smear campaign to detract from the professional career of Dr. Bill Roy.⁷³ Although abortion did not play a major role in Kansas politics until the 1980’s, it is possible to see that the conservative nature of voters was in place as early as Dole’s reelection in 1974. This conservative base of voters included individuals who would come to be affiliated with the Christian Right.

The Christian Right’s influence in Kansas has been seen in the electoral victories of the 1990’s, and through the fierce battle over key issues such as abortion within the state. The way in which researchers view the Christian Right and its members is changing. The portrayal of conservative Christians as having limited education, living in rural locations, and following doctrinal belief in religious separatism,⁷⁴ is largely inaccurate by today’s measurements. Peter Beinart, 1998, argues that while the demographics of Kansas have changed, so have the characteristics of the Kansas Christian Right. In his article, Battle for the Burbs, he explains that more than 50 percent of Christian conservatives have bachelor’s degrees, close to 90 percent of families earn more than \$30,000 per year, and they are younger than the national average by 8 years. Beinart uncovers an important motive for conservative Christians who live in suburban America.

In rural America the traditional values of the past are rarely contested or threatened. Conservatives who live a rural lifestyle seldom need to take action to protect the beliefs by

which they live. Instead, with the migration of people from rural America to the cities, there is a new population of urban conservative Christians. Beinart points out that this change is not unique to Kansas, but the movement and makeover of the conservative Christians is occurring on the fringe of many American cities. Atlanta, Sioux Falls, Denver, Dallas, Las Vegas, Phoenix, and Fort Lauderdale are all experiencing the influx of culturally conservative suburbs. It is here where traditional values will clash with the liberal modern values that are often found in metropolitan areas. This clash will most likely spark the next successful mobilization of conservative Christians, but it is possible that the combination will change over time and the mix will evolve into something new. Beinart seems to suggest the later after studying Olathe, Kansas: "The Christian Right consists largely of people who grew up in one world and tried to recreate it in another".⁷⁵

Chapter 3

The Political Influence of Clergy

Today many studies exist which explain the nature of clergy and the role they play as political figures. Some have supported and opposed social movements, such as the civil rights movement of the 1960's. They deliver social services in a variety of ways and provide opportunities for individuals to acquire civic skills that often lead to community involvement or political participation.⁷⁶ Through their leadership and exposure to so many people, members of the clergy are able to shape American democracy just as other powerful influences like media and pop culture. The study of American clergy is important to the discipline of political science because of the mobilizing potential that they wield. Regardless of what denomination they serve, they have opportunities to become involved in politics,⁷⁷ because there is a competition among religious voices to define morality and citizenship. With the focus on morality and democratic citizenship in the United States today, studying clergy is not only interesting, but it is timely. Their contributions are numerous and their impact is undeniable, but when studying clergy it is important to account for differences in time periods, and religious and demographic traditions.⁷⁸ By considering these circumstances, it is possible to ensure that the research arrives at accurate conclusions and effectively measures the political influence of clergy men and women.

The Clergy of Kansas: Profiles

While generalizing about Kansas pastors as a population of political activists is valuable, it is important to address the ways in which they are individuals with unique characteristics.

Due to time and resource limitations, this study does not delve into the socialization of each clergy member, but basic demographic information was collected and contributes to a greater understanding as to who these individuals are, as well as the types of communities in which they serve.

In Table 3.1 the demographic information describes the personal profiles of the Kansas clergy who were surveyed. Ninety-five percent of the surveyed pastors are White. While the sample population is small, it is possible that this number is still representative of clergy within the state of Kansas. With the state's population of white residents at 91 percent overall, it can be argued that the lack of racial diversity within the pastorate is demographically representative. Of the remaining respondents, two revealed their ethnicity as "Other", one listed their ethnicity as "Black", and finally one listed their ethnic background as "Asian". There is not much diversity among the ages of pastors within this study. The majority are over 50 years old with 83 percent responding that they were born before 1951. This most likely will affect the actions of Kansas clergy as most of the ministers were educated in the late 1960's. When these pastors were socialized, America was experiencing an extremely liberal cultural and social atmosphere. The intensity level was high with regard to cultural and moral changes which no doubt had a profound influence on this generation of ministers. Their personal ideologies may illustrate a direct reflection of this possibility, and is included in Chapter 5 along with an in depth look at how pastors approach Kansas political issues.

Table 3.1

Demographic Background of Kansas Clergy

	Race	Education	Gender
Kansas Clergy Personal Profiles	White	Less than HS	Female
	79 (95%)	0 (0%)	3 (4%)
	Black	High School	Male
	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	79 (96%)
	Asian	Some College	No
	1 (1%)	4 (5%)	Response
			1 (-%)
	Hispanic	College	
	0 (0%)	14 (17%)	
	Other	Post	
	2 (3%)	Graduate	
		65 (78%)	

Percentages are column percents. N=83

As illustrated by Table 3.2, pastors were not only asked about their own ideology, but were able to explain their perceptions of the congregants that they serve. These clergy feel that they preach mostly to conservative ears. Sixty-three percent of pastors said they view their congregations as conservative, 22 percent expressed the opinion that their congregations are moderate ideologically, and only 13 percent consider their followers to be of mixed ideology. None of the pastors surveyed classified their congregations as liberal; this data is unexpected because some clergy commented on the liberal nature of their denomination. It is also surprising that with such a high level of perceived conservatism by ministers, there is not an equally high level of perceived social status. Stereotypically, conservatives are aligned with the Republican Party, which is considered to be comprised of individuals who are financially better off than when compared to other areas of the American population. In the case of Kansas pastors, they describe their congregants as “upper-middle class” or “upper class” in only three

percent of the responses, while 63 percent of clergy respondents claim they have conservative followers. This may suggest a disconnection between the clergy and their “flock”, or could prove an old stereotype to be false within Kansas. Building on the foundation of clergy studies, and coupled with the information from Kansas pastors, the true nature of their impact as political leaders may become clear.

Table 3.2
Pastors Perception of Those They Serve

Congregants		
	Class Ranking	Ideology
Clergy Perception of Congregants	Working 19 (23%)	Liberal 0 (0%)
	Lower-Middle 16 (20%)	Moderate 18 (22%)
	Middle 45 (55%)	Conservative 52 (63%)
	Upper-Middle 2 (2%)	Mixed 11 (13%)
	Upper 0 (0%)	Not Considered 1 (1%)

Percentages are row percents. N= 82.

History of Clergy Research

The study of clergy is rooted thirty years in the past, but only recently have scholars been committed to understanding the role of clergy themselves. Their backgrounds, personal beliefs, and training make them unique individuals, yet they share the same calling to spiritually guide their congregants. The way in which they interpret the duties of their profession may differ greatly among individual pastors, as well as the actions in which they choose to take. In

order to explain these differences, scholars have studied many different aspects of life in the pastorate. Some scholars focus on geographical areas, and others turn their attention to specific denominations in order to better understand this group of political actors. This research focuses on the location of the pastors and their denomination in order to expand the scope of study to the state of Kansas.

In an overview of past and current literature that examines the nature of politically active clergy in modern Christianity, it is possible to explain how prior theories can be applied to a study of the state of Kansas, and how they may account for the way in which Kansas pastors socialize the attitudes of their congregants on moral and social political issues. Finally, through a framework of measured political activity, resources, and political agendas, it is possible to classify levels of pastoral involvement within the study of Kansas.

Many of the earliest studies regarding clergy and politics were focused on the role of mainline Protestants during the civil rights movement.⁷⁹ The research was specific to the political climate of the time, and the main themes in the literature were similar. Churches and the men and women that lead them are activists in shaping their communities and providing physical locations for worship, rallying points, as well as political education and civic learning centers.⁸⁰ Early research was centered on pastors as potential political mobilizers and congregations as a strong community resource. At that time it was rare for scholars to study solely clergy and their motivations for choosing to become active. That changed after the civil rights movement highlighted the influence of pastors. The research of the late 1960's and early 1970's can be considered among the earliest studies devoted specifically to clergy. This change

in the research is important to political science because pastoral influence has the potential to shape the workings of democracy through the individuals' use of church acquired civic skills and political participation.

Determining how clergy use this influence is an area of study that has expanded and continues today. In 1971, Stark, Foster, Glock, and Quinley, examined the attitudes of Protestant clergy toward Jewish residents, and how they have the potential to curtail racial prejudice among the members of the community.⁸¹ They found that the opposite was occurring, and they, in fact, may have been contributing to the racial intolerance. This suggests that a pastor's influence is projected far beyond a sermon, and can support messages of society's injustices albeit directly or indirectly. They argued that pastors are "moral authorities" and were surprised that the pastors within the study were not more effectively utilizing the opportunity to create "brotherhood, social justice, and a more humane society." This argument is valid in understanding that clergy have the power to impact congregants' views on many controversial issues of God and society, and not always will they be moderate in nature. Nearly forty years since their study of Protestant pastors, it is still commonplace to find examples of clergy who deliver messages to their church families that can be considered extreme. American culture has become more polarized since their publication and with it are more extreme views on morality and spirituality. Once, the community issue was support or opposition to Jewish residents, and today the issue may be support or opposition to gay residents. Although the issues change and evolve within society, the role of the pastor is still strong and carries a great deal of weight.

Social science researchers understand the value of studying clergy, and work in the field has increased. It is an area to which several scholars have dedicated their careers, and they have contributed large amounts of information. Research has become increasingly focused on pastors as political activists. Their backgrounds, educations, party affiliations, relationships with their congregations, and even the denominations they serve have been scrutinized in order to reveal their ability to influence their congregations on social and moral political issues. Prior clergy studies include a number of theories suggesting what elements must be present in order for a pastor to be effective in shaping attitudes. Denomination and the level of fundamentalism, socioeconomic status of a church's neighborhood, and supportive congregations have all been theorized as being the driving force behind clergy who are successful in socializing the political views of their church members. The research is varied and answers questions about an understudied group of political activists, while posing many new ones for future research.

Ted Jelen, a scholar who has written extensively on the role of clergy as political leaders, has examined the ability of clergy to impact opinion on the abortion issue in rural communities in a study from 1992. After interviewing 17 pastors from a rural Midwestern community, Jelen argues that clergy with personally strong opinions on an issue will attempt to influence their congregants. Pastors from denominations that are considered fundamentalist and evangelical usually have the most conservative beliefs, and the more doctrinally conservative churches may expose their members to more rhetoric.⁸² The study compares the more conservative denominations to mainline denominations such as Methodist and Presbyterian. Jelen finds that while pastors in both types of denominations share their dislike of abortion, the mainline

denominations have more liberal pastors who do not seem to be as concerned with sharing their views, while the conservative churches wield a “considerable moral authority”.⁸³

In 1993, Jelen expanded his theory on the dichotomy of American Christianity. Written before the proliferation of literature on the American culture war, Jelen explains that modern Christianity is split into dueling groups of liberals and conservatives that are in conflict over culture rather than economics. This insight is important to the way in which we study clergy and their impact. Jelen’s findings suggest that a key indicator to pastoral behavior lies within the type of denomination to which they belong. His or her own beliefs and the nature of the doctrine of which is taught, may dictate a certain expectation of a pastor to bring specific messages and values to his or her members. Jelen refers to this as clergy’s “special insight” that is based on a “relationship with the sacred aspects of a religious tradition.” The delivery of their messages conveys this relationship and is the way in which they compete with other sources of meaning and authority.⁸⁴

Laura Olson conducted a study of clergy in the metropolitan area of Milwaukee, Wisconsin in 2000. Because the study was conducted within an urban setting, it serves as a good comparison to the work that Jelen completed in the early 1990’s. While he argues that clergy are active in their desire to socialize attitudes based on the level of conservatism, Olson concludes that the amount of political action among Milwaukee clergy is based on the socioeconomic status of the neighborhood in which the church is located. The type of activity that Olson encounters varied, but is most commonly driven by the personal interests of the church leaders. The two studies share this element of personal interest among pastors in

determining the issues in which they become active. All interviewees in her study are pastors located in a metropolitan area. Her most compelling finding is among the pastors in socioeconomic distressed areas, they are much more concerned with bettering the life circumstances of their neighbors than they are about “moral” issues like abortion.⁸⁵ It is possible that not only the volume of political activity can be determined by the socioeconomic status of the neighborhood, but the type of issues that clergy address in the economically distressed areas. For example, it may be that abortion and similar moral issues are not as highly prioritized by religious leaders when they are combating drug abuse, homelessness, and other social issues that may be plaguing their communities.

Olson excludes personal political action from her research, instead, she is interested in when and why “nonpolitical institutions choose to extend their influence into the political sphere”.⁸⁶ In this case, the clergy become most politically involved in the areas that they serve, seemingly when these areas are failing and need the most assistance. She concludes that the most deliberately active clergy members are effective facilitators of civic skills, and that civic skills are necessary for individuals who wish to be politically active. Churches that provide civic skills and have active clergy, particularly in the area of contacting government agencies in order to secure aid for their communities, also will provide the most opportunity for the congregants to use the civic skills on their own behalf. In this way active pastors and active members have a symbiotic relationship that encourages and supports the political actions of each other. Thus it can be argued that clergy personal interest, begets their professional actions, begets active congregants, and it becomes a cycle that probably continues.

With regard to the attitude of political efficacy, Olson's group of interviewees split evenly. Only half of the pastors interviewed reported feeling politically efficacious. The most efficacious pastors in Olson's study expressed the strongest belief that clergy have the ability to shape the political opinions of their congregants. Efficacious feelings may also indicate that supportive congregants are an extremely important element to having politically active clergy. It is possible to argue that a member of the clergy must not only consider their congregants, but consider reactions of others within the community to any actions in which they may participate. An unsupportive congregation most likely will not tolerate actions that they do not agree with.

Among politically involved pastors interviewed by Olson, 17 expressed their belief that political involvement should not interfere with their duties to their profession. While there is little disagreement among scholars that clergy must individually decide where the line is drawn between church duty and political action, among clergy there is mixed sentiment on this subject. Some clergy feel that it is their duty to inform their congregants and voice political concerns. Others may be politically active, but they are very careful that the functions and needs of the church are satisfied first.

Jelen's 2001 work, The Political World of the Clergy, encompasses several denominations in which he uses a series of surveys and interviews to measure clergy and the scope of their political involvement. Jelen's study group consisted of 18 pastors from a rural area in west central Indiana. Within conservative Protestantism, leaders are more reluctant to place political activity as a high priority. By ideological inclination, they are suspicious of anything that threatens the autonomy of the individual conscience, and are reluctant to

“abuse” the authority the congregation has granted them.⁸⁷ Among Evangelical Protestantism, he explains that the style of theological belief is quite conducive to political mobilization and leadership, but the content of evangelical beliefs serves as limitation on their political application. Further, nearly all of the eighteen clergymen interviewed believed in the idea of separate church and state. However, in this case, it is a “reverse church and state” sentiment. The clergymen conveyed to Jelen that there exists a boundary they are “very aware of,” in order to respect the feelings of their congregation, and not abuse their power. For this reason many clergy choose not to become politically involved. Jelen argues that this is true even among clergymen serving congregations where there are ample financial resources, and among pastors who openly express opinions on political issues. They shared concerns over morality of the congregations, homosexuality, and abortion, but were still aware of that boundary.

Perceptions of Their Role: Voices of Kansas Pastors

The clergy in Kansas were also concerned with limitations on political action. While many of them expressed strong opinions regarding social and moral issues, they were reluctant to approve of clergy using the pulpit for endorsements. A pastor from Johnson County indicated a neutral position on the survey and then replied, when asked if churches should attempt to influence or lobby public officials: “Christians should be influenced by the teachings of the church.” Other clergymen were more specific in their comments on whether they believe it to be appropriate to discuss political topics among congregants: “I don’t believe clergy should use their position to influence any of their members’ consciences on the vote. Talk issues but not candidates.” A pastor located in urban Shawnee County shared his views on respecting a

boundary between politics and religion: “Although my congregation and I discuss politics in casual conversation, politics is never addressed in the pulpit, nor do I openly endorse any candidate. Our church is American Baptist which is a moderate to liberal Baptist organization. One cannot legislate morality. Change peoples’ hearts through Jesus Christ, and you change minds and morals.”

While pastors feel that there is room for both politics and religion, and that they each have their appropriate place, there are members of the clergy who do not separate the two. The devotion to religion is heard in each opinion that they voice, and politics is no exception. When asked if churches should try to influence or lobby public officials, and if civil liberties in the U.S. are threatened by groups seeking to impose their religion, a pastor from Clay County Kansas replied: “We are citizens. That’s not what Christians do! We do want to have a voice like any other group.” Similarly, to the same questions, a clergyman from Wyandotte County expressed his opinion with the simple comment: “Denomination take a stand!” This comparison of previous, current, and Kansas research is valuable to the study of clergy because it indicates whether or not they have undergone any major changes in their beliefs about what political material is appropriate within the church. It is possible that during social revolutions and times of intense change, there is an increase in the members of the clergy who do not consider a boundary between religion and politics.

Most Kansas pastors are willing to discuss social political issues; a finding that is in common with research by Djupe and Gilbert in 2002. They argue that 90 percent of clergy are comfortable with addressing social issues, but only 30 percent are actually discussing moral

issues such as sexual politics and social vices. Their study focuses on the role of clergy as public speakers, and seeks to determine the reach that ministers have through public speaking and prayer. Although clergy are considered spiritual representatives, they may feel compelled to serve as a political voice of the people of the church.⁸⁸

Kansas pastors report that they are concerned with similar issues affecting their “flock”. It is possible that they are experiencing the compelling need to be a political voice for their church members, as described within the work by Djupe and Gilbert. Further, they find that the frequency of public speeches or public prayer by a church’s pastor to be determined by two indices, one- belief isolation, and two- lack of community involvement. Djupe and Gilbert explain that when churches have different beliefs or theologies than do their communities, or have a higher number of minorities, the congregation is not as well represented and therefore the clergy more frequently utilize public speech. Clergy become more involved when their beliefs and/or congregations become threatened. An increase in public address and prayer is also occurring where there is greater community isolation or lower socioeconomic status. This is comparable to the study of the Kansas pastors who were asked to indicate public address of important issues and the frequency with which they held adult informational sessions. This is similar to the definition that the authors use as a basis for research in order to determine the nature, frequency, and determinants of clergy public speech.

A summation of the research that exists on the subject of clergy in politics would not be complete without mention of a piece that assesses the specific gaps within the literature. Guth explains the significance of the socialization processes that influences a minister’s decision to

become involved, the types of activity they choose, how ideological and organizational forces mobilize the clergy, and the effects that involved clergy have on their congregations and communities. All of these areas of study explain the extent to which pastors as a population, and the agendas they pursue, are diverse. As scholars are typically focused on clergy issue interest and political actions surrounding them, he warns that researchers will only find activity where they look for it. If a study seeks to measure the moral political actions of clergy than it will seem as if the conservative clergy are the most politically dominant, and if evaluation of community action on crime and poverty is of concern, urban clergy will appear most active.⁸⁹ There are many factors that contribute to the actions of politically engaged clergy, making them an incredibly complex subject for study.

The study of Kansas clergy compares the two different types of political action that Guth refers to, as well as considering the locations in which they are operating in order to avoid an obvious bias in the research. This comparison will contribute valuable data to understanding the issues that clergy select for involvement, and determine if there can be a generalization made about what issues are of priority based on the location of a cleric. Studies exist on the importance of fundamentalism, socioeconomic status, and the role of the congregations. Research is not limited to these themes, but discussion of them illuminates the religious and political arena in which the clergy of Kansas operate.

Political Participation: Defining Actions and Resources

Actions that constitute political participation are varied, and large amounts of research have been dedicated to identifying which activities are political acts. There are many concepts and definitions that are used to describe this basic element of democracy, and the individuals who contribute to the democratic process. Contribution to candidates and their political campaigns, voting, and donation of money or time to organized interests are all forms of political participation. Protests and rioting are also considered to be political participation as individuals and groups attempt to “influence the distribution of social goods and values.”⁹⁰ Traditionally, political participation has been used to refer to private citizens and their attempt to influence election outcomes through the use of resources, such as time, money, and civic skills.⁹¹ There is little disagreement among scholars today that political participation includes much more than the intentions and actions of private citizens.

The resources needed to participate are often more abundant among groups of people with common political interests. Therefore, organized groups may be more effective in influencing the democratic process. Pastors are a group in which this over abundance of resources exists. These resources represent a potential energy for political participation.⁹² The extent to which clergy become involved and utilize these resources is determined by their individual backgrounds, decisions, and cost and benefits associated with their actions.

Clergy decide to become politically involved based on the many influences that surround them. The agendas that they seek, and the way in which they envision their impact and role within the church, enable and motivate them into action. There are considerations

that need to be made by a pastor before they decide that becoming active is right for them. Clergy rely upon the support of their congregants when making such decisions, and even if they personally desire to become active they must consider the importance of the congregational influence. Laura Olson and Sue Crawford argue that clergy must consider the risks and consequences before engaging in political participation within the pastorate. They risk alienation of their members if they are speaking out politically,⁹³ and they fear losing the approval of their followers.⁹⁴ The church acts as a resource to a pastor, and can promote success in political participation, or hinder it.

The notion that the congregation and church act as a resource to be utilized by an active pastor is discussed by Olson. She identified two types of resources necessary for action among clergy. First, the church denomination, the member tolerance for voicing political opinions, and the socioeconomic status of the church's neighborhood are considered contextual resources. They refer to the professional support or deterrence that active clergy may encounter. The status of the neighborhood may also act as a resource when there is obvious need or opportunity. In socioeconomically distressed areas there may be a need for a pastor to become involved for the well-being of the people he/she serves. The opposite may exist in a neighborhood that is financially better off. A pastor may have fewer social issue concerns and more financial resources that are available for sponsoring activities, of public speaking or public prayer.

Second, resources that clergy must employ for political involvement are personal resources.⁹⁵ These resources include the ability for engagement in political issues because of

the pastor's desire, background, or career goals.⁹⁶ Like contextual resources, personal resources can act as facilitators or curtail action among pastors. During her interviews with Milwaukee pastors, Olson found that gender or minority status of the pastor is among the likely personal reasons for becoming involved. Individual experiences based on these factors impact the desire to contribute to the process on behalf of people in which they serve that may be in similar circumstance.

Armed with these resources, clergy make the decision to be politically active or not within their role as church leader. In this study, political activity is considered to be specifically the actions that Kansas clergy undertake in order to further an agenda or cause that is in direct interest of the church or its' people. The study of Kansas pastors is not directed at understanding the political interest or activities in which clergy are personally involved. Evaluation of political participation within this study is measured by asking clergy for their opinions on political issues, and the frequency in which they act upon these issues, but solely with regard to how it affects their professional role.

Variations in Political Action Levels

By analyzing survey responses, it is possible to identify three levels of activism that Kansas pastors may fit into based on their feelings toward certain moral and social issues. These categories enable trends among Kansas pastors to be realized, and it is then possible to determine what role, if any, they have in promoting the state's moral political agenda. Because this study does not include details on support of congregation and socialization of pastors, I am not able to make inferences specific to any one pastor. Although they have indicated

preferences, there are too many other factors that must be considered in order to individually label them as activist or not. Instead, I am able to generalize through survey responses how the population of Kansas pastors behaves around certain activities and issues.

The first observation level of the Kansas pastors focuses on the amount of political activity in which they participate. This is determined through survey questions that ask about the frequency with which a pastor engages in four different activities. Each of the questions asks the church leader to indicate the frequency of specific actions taken around many different issues. These issues include: crime, religious expression in public, minimum wage, public school curricula, environmental stewardship, gay rights, abortion, health care, war, economy, and disease. First, how frequently do the pastors contact government agencies or government officials on these issues. Second, pastors were asked to indicate the number of times in 2008 that they publicly spoke on these issues. Third, clergy select all issues for which they held adult informational sessions at their church. This question is aimed at determining priority ranking of issues, rather than frequency of activity.

In each question they are able to indicate different frequencies for each separate issue. Finally, the pastors are asked to indicate the regularity in which there is political material available at the church. Within this question they are able to express the frequency of availability, but they are also able to specify among four categories of political information. These are: campaign material, candidate information, political party information, and political issue information. By analyzing these categories it is possible to classify the respondents into three levels of political action.

Figure 3.1 summarizes the three levels of clergy political involvement. Clergy issue interest or political action is labeled “non-active” when responses indicate that there is little chance of political activity surrounding any issue. The second level, or “moderately active”, occurs when pastors have identified areas in which they have publicly addressed issues. Moderate clergy activity may also suggest that they are participating in these political issues, but are not claiming to do so with a high level of regularity. This may include contacting government agencies or speaking publicly. The third classification of political action among clergy is, “highly active”. Kansas pastors are referred to being highly active when they identify most issues as being of great importance to their congregants or communities. These activists identify and take action publicly on multiple issues and with increased frequency.

Figure 3.1

A Typology of Politically Active Clergy

Non-Active Clergy

1. Clergy infrequently address any issues in public. Occasionally, a pastor will show interest in an issue, but will not act.
2. Non-Active clergy are not comfortable contacting any government agencies or officials in regard to any issues.

Moderately Active Clergy

1. Moderately Active clergy express interest and action in multiple issue areas.
2. Clergy in this category are far more likely to contact government agencies, but not on every issue or with great regularity.

Highly Active Clergy

1. Clergy in this category address most issues publicly on a consistent basis.
 2. Nearly all pastors that are highly active contact government agencies and officials with great frequency on many issues.
-

The second way in which I have classified the political action of Kansas clergy is to identify the type of issues in which the pastors are interested in becoming involved. The issue type classification is important because it distinguishes whether or not pastors, as a population, tend to prioritize the moral or social issues that are facing their followers. Within the survey pastors are asked to answer nine questions that deal with different political issues in Kansas. Discovering their issue interests and priorities lie within these answers. The nine questions consist of seven topics including: science standards in public schools, sex education, abortion, crime, gun restriction, and homelessness. The potential responses are ranked for the clergy to choose from. As illustrated by Table 3.3, clergy are asked to evaluate issues separately and indicate how important the issue is to them and their congregants.

The purpose of asking clergy to address issues that have been included in other questions, is to first identify how frequently they are politically active, and then express the issues that motivate them to become so. As previously discussed, Guth warns that political action is where you look for it.⁹⁷ It is necessary to examine both social issues and moral issues in order to completely compare and contrast the two areas in which you may find political action. Issue interest, combined with the measuring the level of political involvement through frequency of action, make it possible to categorize Kansas pastoral political involvement. When the level of action is paired with a type of action label, “social” and “moral”, the areas of interest of which clergy prioritize become clear. Combined, the data presented in Figure 3.1 and Table 3.3, explain which issues motivate Kansas pastors and to what extent. The N total for Table 3.3 is varied between 82 and 80 respondents due to some unanswered survey questions.

Table 3.3

Clergy and Issue Importance

Clergy Opinion of Wedge Issues

	Extremely Important	Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important	N/A
Teen Pregnancy	14 (17%)	35 (43%)	23 (28%)	9 (11%)	0 (0%) N=81
Violent Crime	8 (10%)	36 (44%)	24 (28%)	14 (17%)	0 (0%) N=82
AIDS	5 (6%)	18 (23%)	32 (40%)	24 (30%)	1 (1%) N=80
Homelessness	9 (11%)	34 (43%)	28 (35%)	8 (10%)	1 (1%) N=80
Abortion	19 (24%)	35 (44%)	23 (29%)	3 (4%)	0 (0%) N=80
High School Drop Out Rates	7 (9%)	30 (37%)	35 (43%)	8 (10%)	1 (1%) N=81
Stem Cell Research	5 (6%)	15 (19%)	35 (43%)	25 (31%)	1 (1%) N=81
Racism	9 (11%)	28 (35%)	23 (29%)	18 (23%)	2 (2%) N=80
Minimum Wage	2 (2%)	15 (19%)	34 (43%)	27 (34%)	2 (2%) N=80
Drug/Alcohol Abuse	14 (17%)	39 (48%)	22 (27%)	6 (7%)	0 (0%) N=81
Gambling	7 (9%)	26 (32%)	29 (36%)	17 (21%)	2 (2%) N=81
Pornography	9 (11%)	37 (46%)	25 (31%)	9 (11%)	0 (0%) N=80

Source: Compiled by author from survey respondents. Percentages are row percents. N= 80-82.

The first level of political involvement that Kansas pastors fit into is “non-active”. Twenty eight ministers were identified as being politically non-active. A pastor who is not interested in political action or involved in voicing opinions around politicized issues, could

easily be identified as a non-active. They undoubtedly have opinions regarding all issue questions posed to them, and many acknowledge the importance of political involvement in our communities, but they are classified as non-active when their opinions on an issue do not motivate them to act. For example, Kansas pastors are socially non active regarding the issue of the minimum wage. An overwhelming 77 percent of pastors answered that it is “not important” or only “somewhat important”.

In another question they were asked how often they contacted government officials or agencies to address the issue of poverty within their community and 48 percent answered “never” or “almost never”. These responses highlight the lack of clergy action surrounding the financial status of their congregants. Although moral issues are known for being faith based, there are examples where clergy interest in moral issues are at low levels. In Kansas, the topic of civil unions among pastors falls into the category of morally non active. Pastors in Kansas did not frequently address this issue publicly, 58 percent reported that they never addressed it, and 72 percent explained that they “never” or “rarely” contacted any agency or governmental official with regard to concerns on homosexuality. These questions were neutrally posed to the clergy members, and they were never asked to reveal their support or opposition on these issues.

The second classification of political involvement among clergy in Kansas is “moderately active”. The largest of the categories, 51 pastors are considered moderately active. Kansas pastors can be identified as moderately active when many issues within the survey indicate interest and generate public action. While an issue may be important enough to earn their

attention and resources, the pastors are not active consistently. Moderately active is an important classification in this study as it allows for the recognition of occasional action. Although an issue may not generate a high level of action, ministers often have strong opinions on the topic but may choose to rank it lower versus issues of higher priority. Moderate levels of political activity may be more common in certain communities. In some communities there may be few resources available, or fewer issues for clergy to face.

Labeling pastors as participating in a moderate level of activity does not imply that there are not exceptions. Obviously in areas where one particular issue is most important, the level of activity will reflect the specifics of that community. The way in which Kansas clergy prioritize issues, however, is strikingly similar and there are many circumstances in which they are only moderately engaged. For example, while many pastors expressed no interest for global warming, they expressed a moderate level of political activity for the social issue of environmental stewardship with 58 percent of pastors indicating that they address this issue. Kansas pastors also show moderate moral activism when it pertains to the issue of evolution taught inside the public school system. Among 50 percent of the clergy who expressed action surrounding this issue, only 18 percent are reporting consistent political action.

The third classification for politically active clergy in Kansas is “highly active”. Within the classification of highly active, there are only four ministers. This classification is similar in structure to the previous category, but this label is used to identify the issues in which church leaders are active with increased regularity. This higher level of consistent action may be because they are seeking to influence opinions and behaviors surrounding these issues. In many

cases, Kansas pastors express strong opinions on political issues, and in many of these cases they are also detailing the frequency with which they will become politically active. Individually, pastors may choose to solely act on issues of morality or social justice, however, for the purposes of this categorization, the term highly active refers to clergy who address either type of issues with regularity.

One of the social issues in Kansas which generates a highly active pastoral community is the economy. An overwhelming 76 percent of surveyed clergy expressed high levels of interest and acknowledged having publicly addressed this issue in 2008. Further, 47 percent of them answered that they publicly addressed the issue of the economy “often” or “very often”. The moral issue that has the same mobilizing effect on Kansas clergy is religious expression in public. Pastors’ answers explain that 85 percent of them are involved, and in some way addressed this issue publicly in 2008, and 64 percent of them indicated that they took action with consistency or regularity.

Understanding social or moral political action by pastors is important at all levels of involvement. In Chapter 5, the framework including level and type of involvement, compare the pastors’ location within the state, as well as their specific opinions on issue related questions. They explain which ones are most important to their congregants, as well as the environment within which they serve. Table 3.4 is a Lichert summated index. This method enables survey data, such as the results from Kansas clergy, to be categorized in order to draw upon trends among the respondents. First, the pastors were asked: How often did you address the following issues publicly in any way in 2008. The response choices to the issues, previously listed, allows

pastors to gauge their actions by answering “never”, “rarely”, “sometimes”, “often”, or “very often”. Next, the responses are given a point value and each case is scored. The score possible for each survey case is 15 to 75 points, resulting in a 60 point range. Respondents who score 15-35 points are classified as “non-active”, the clergy who score 36-55 points are considered “moderately active”, and last if the clergy’s score is 56-75 points they are categorized as “highly active clergy”. This information is also presented in Figure 3.1 in order to offer a comparison in characteristics of politically active clergy.

Table 3.4
Levels of Political Activity

	Non-Active	Moderately Active	Highly Active
Kansas Clergy	28 (34%)	51 (61%)	4 (5%)

Source: Compiled by author from survey data. N = 83.

Chapter 4

The Study Setting: Kansas

Kansas is an important location for social science research. It is rich in political history and has played a key role in shaping our nation. The struggle over Kansas' fate as either a pro-slavery state or an anti-slavery state was among the earliest moral political issues for Kansas. During the territorial period prohibition became a leading political, social, and moral issue that gripped the state until 1948. The women's suffrage movement was prominent through the nineteenth century, and Kansas became the eighth state to give women the right to vote. The progressivism of the early twentieth century led to the passing of legislation that created child labor restriction laws, juvenile courts, and the curbing of power among large American corporations such as Standard Oil and several railroad companies.⁹⁸ Each of these exemplifies the details of the early moral political agenda at work within the state, and there are plenty of modern day examples. For instance, *Brown v. Board of Education*, in 1954, set the stage for desegregation of public schools across the nation, and the violent abortion protests that have made headlines in Wichita, Kansas since the early 1990's, stand as proof that Kansas continues to have a strong moral political agenda with many actors. This fact is illustrated by the murder of Kansas abortion doctor, George Tiller, that occurred while this research was conducted.

Kansas is in the geographical center of the United States. Bordering states include Nebraska, Colorado, Oklahoma, and Missouri, all of which have influenced the political climate of the state through its history. In civil war time Kansas "bled" over slavery against Missouri,⁹⁹ and more recently had to defend the minimum age to marry when a Nebraska man brought his

twelve year old girlfriend to Kansas to marry her legally at a much earlier age than allowed in Nebraska.¹⁰⁰ More commonly, however, morality battles are fought by Kansans within the state, pitting citizen against citizen. Voters, demonstrators, and interest group activists have shown deep interest in abortion law, evolution, and sex education curricula within the public school systems. These issues are often front and center at election time as candidates attempt to attract voters who are active specifically to support their side of a single issue. An increased focus on legislation and policy turns a moral political issue into a political agenda for these interested parties.

Moral political agenda (MPA) is difficult to firmly define, but a working definition is necessary in order to fully understand the issues that are gripping Kansas politics. It is important to identify which issues are moral in nature, because the local governance will approach moral issues in different ways than they do the traditional issues of local politics.¹⁰¹ Their responses will not only vary by issue type, but each community will have officials with a unique method of governance and tolerance for debate. This may be because people vary greatly in terms of belief systems. What is considered moral to one may be immoral to another. It is hard to settle on a clear definition due to this degree of variance in perception. For example, Robert Sack explains that morality is a measure of what is real and good to an individual, and it is determined by their geography.¹⁰² This definition is important as it addresses the complex nature of how a person's moral judgment is shaped by where they are located. Scholars have long discussed how early life socialization shapes the way we perceive issues around us, and Sack builds upon traditional socialization by extending his theory to include the culture and society of where a person lives during their adult life. He argues that

this location continues to shape them. I apply Sack's definition of morality to the study of the MPA in Kansas. Since issue importance and issue governance are driven by location then is it possible to assume that a collection of moral issues will appear in one location and have many proponents. In other words, a group that is united by attaining a specific set of moral values may stand united on moral issues that challenge these beliefs. It is under these circumstances when individual moral political issues become moral political agendas. Sack describes that what people believe to be real and good is shaped by their location, and it is possible to apply this same principle specifically to the people of Kansas. They too are shaped by the uniqueness of their individual communities and the local political circumstances found there. Through a comparison of political issues in Kansas communities, it is possible to generate insight on which theoretical frameworks have the "reach" to account for what is happening.¹⁰³

Similar to a moral political agenda there is a social political agenda (SPA) in Kansas communities. This agenda includes issues such as public health, crime, illegal drug abuse, and environmental stewardship. These issues often do not draw the same media and public attention because they do not generate the same level of emotional response, as do the issues that may lead to legislation of morality. Social issues, however, are equally important to the study of Kansas because they are useful in measuring political involvement among pastors. Some pastors will equally approach social political and moral political issues within their communities. Pastors and church resources teach people to help themselves by serving as civic training centers. This activity often impacts the individuals within the community, because people learn skills and then use them to contribute to their local area. Churches often become centers of civic learning because they encourage activity among small groups with a great deal

of social homogeneity.¹⁰⁴ Through an increased level of comfort it is possible for people to engage and become involved within the social network that is the congregation.

Djupe and Gilbert argue that members do not seek out skill training nor do pastors have a strong direct role in personally providing it. Politically active members, they find, become active through a process of skill development that can be considered a byproduct of a church's attempt to fulfill other needs.¹⁰⁵ Determining the extent to which Kansas pastors contribute to the morality agendas of their communities and ultimately the states MPA, the comparison of socially involved pastors to morally involved pastors will be necessary to indicate which type of issues are motivating to the pastor.

The classification of social and moral issues is not the only distinction needed in order to understand political action of Kansas pastors. The majority of the state's communities are located in rural areas, and the majority of the population resides in the metropolitan areas. It is necessary to create a definition of urban and rural while uncovering the important political issues and studying the contribution of clergy. Prior to administering surveys to clergy members, I assigned classification to each of the 105 Kansas counties, labeling them either rural or urban. Many areas of scholarship exist on how this classification should be made. Within the federal government alone there are more than a dozen different ways to define what is metropolitan and what is not. Among the many definitions available, the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) in cooperation with the Economic Research Service (ERS) described the benefit to understanding how we distinguish between our rural and urban communities. In a 2008 article, Defining the "Rural" in Rural America, the two departments

collaborate to explain the science behind the classification. Two main challenges are brought to light when deciding how to classify urban or rural. The first challenge is how to establish the appropriate urban boundary, and the second is choosing a population threshold. The authors begin with discussion of three concepts of “urban” that lead to different boundary definitions. The administrative, land-use, and economic concepts are ways to classify urban areas and each has a specific purpose. The definitions are needed for researchers and policy makers to effectively develop programs that target issue specific problems in different communities. Authors, John Cromartie and Shawn Bucholtz describe the most important aspect of getting the classification correct. “The key is to use a rural-urban definition that best fits the needs of a specific activity, recognizing that any simple dichotomy hides a complex rural-urban continuum, with very gentle gradations from one level to the next.”¹⁰⁶

First, the administrative concept is commonly used by the USDA for rural development programs and uses municipal or other jurisdictional boundaries. Next, the land-use concept for defining rural areas is used by the United States Census Bureau and is based on the population density or the “picture of settlement you get from an airplane”. The third and final concept of defining rural areas is through economics. It is used in most rural research applications, highlights the influence of cities on labor, trade, and media markets that extend beyond the densely populated areas; it even includes communities which the authors describe as “commuting areas”.

Choosing a population threshold is as difficult as selecting an urban boundary, and similarly there are many schools of thought available on how to successfully complete this task.

By utilizing the definitions and explanations of the USDA and ERS, this study employs methods that allow for more consistency and easier reproduction of the research.

The definition of “rural” has changed throughout history as our nation has changed and grown. The 1910 Census identified any area with open countryside and fewer than 2,500 people as rural. Currently, there are population-sized thresholds that range from the original 2,500 to 50,000. The controversy is due to the inability of small areas, or only 2,500, to maintain levels of diverse employment, as well as goods and services that may have been available in these areas in 1910. That concern is plausible within a state such as Kansas. Many rural areas in the state continue to decline today while more densely populated areas continue to grow. Because of the past 100 years decline of our rural areas we can assume that the population threshold of 2,500 is no longer appropriate. 50,000 residents within an area in order to qualify as urban, is also not an appropriate way in which to study the state of Kansas.¹⁰⁷ This threshold would not represent the majority of Kansas communities as many reside in far less densely populated areas.

For these reasons, the appropriate population threshold is one that is endorsed by the USDA and ERS in order to classify each county for the purpose of this study. This definition of urban consists of territory outside Census places with 20,000 people or more, and is used for Community Facility programs. It is the most size-appropriate classification for the study of Kansas. With a population threshold of 20,000 in order to be urban, there are 26 counties classified as urban, leaving 79 counties classified as rural. For comparison purposes, and in order to ensure appropriateness, I have compared the percentage of population urban/rural

according to these definitions with the Census data from 2007, listed on statehealthfacts.org. In terms of actual population density in metropolitan areas, the classification of 26 urban counties has a total population of 2,278,386. This number accounts for 81 percent of the population according to the 2008 U.S. Census Estimates. The statehealthfacts.org website lists population distribution for 2007, also gathered by the U.S. Census. This resource indicates that 64 percent of the population residing in the metropolitan areas and 36 percent of Kansans making up the rural residents. The difference between the 2007 and 2008 figures indicate that Kansas saw a rise in population of approximately 100,000 residents. In four rural counties there was an increase in population, and a decrease in population in the remaining 75 rural counties. These population fluxes coupled with inherent inconsistencies in Census data collection, account for the differences in population distribution in Kansas.¹⁰⁸

Although most rural research employs the use of the economic concept, the combination of the land-use concept and the administrative concept is most useful for this study. The administrative concept refers to the rural classification made through the use of jurisdictional boundaries. The county serves as the most basic unit of measurement in this study. The inability to ensure responses from all cities, towns, and villages across the state, and the variation among population dispersion, make the individual counties the most consistent way to study the state. By using the land-use, or population density concept, I classify each county as rural or urban, and in doing so, through the use of these concepts, it is possible to effectively overcome the two greatest challenges of population threshold and urban boundary, as identified by the authors.

Kansas is home to an estimated 2,802,134 residents. Approximately 52 percent of them are within the age range of 19 to 64 years of age, and nearly 50 percent are female and 50 percent are male. Racially, Kansas is not as equally divided and in 2007 the federally collected census statistics listed Kansas as 80.9 percent White, 6.1 percent Black or African American, 1.0 percent Native American or Other Pacific Islander, 2.2 percent Asian, and 8.8 percent of the population identifying their background as having Hispanic or Latino origin. The median household income in 2007 slightly trailed the national rate at \$46,659.¹⁰⁹

These statistics are helpful for understanding how Kansas compares with the national statistics, but in order to have an accurate portrayal of Kansas, the comparison of metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas of the state are also important. Kansas' demographics are sharply contrasted between areas of rural and urban communities. Among 105 Kansas counties, only 10 have a less than 90 percent white population, and 9 of these counties are in urban areas of the state. Among the ten counties identified as having more than 10 percent minority residents, only two are home to more than 20 percent minority residents. Nearly all of Kansas minorities are living in urban communities. This is significant to the study of Kansas pastors, because if all clergy who serve minority communities are in urban areas there will most likely be differences in the type of actions in which they become involved.

The issues that are pertinent to urban clergy and their communities may be non-existent in the rural areas of the state. Because Kansas lacks racial diversity, it is possible that such a homogenous society will produce less polarity among voters. Studies in criminology may provide more insight into this societal dichotomy. McGarrell and Castellano argue that in areas

with higher levels of heterogeneity and inequality, there is increased interpersonal and intergroup conflict.¹¹⁰ While their research explains in detail how this leads to higher rates of crime, there may be more to learn from the theory. In Kansas, the areas with higher levels of heterogeneity are the urban communities. Thus, the rates of conflict would be higher in these areas than in rural areas. Many rural areas of Kansas are extremely homogeneous, as is illustrated by the minority dispersion statistics. It is possible in these areas that there is less polarization among voters because they deal with less intergroup conflict. Residents of these areas may also more easily come to consensus on what constitutes moral values, therefore, being much more united on moral issues than their municipal counterparts. Technically, Kansas is a homogeneous state, but its racial dispersion creates a skewed picture. Due to the way that minority populations inhabit only select areas of the state, I expected to find a great amount of difference in the way clergy lead their congregations between urban and rural areas. This continued comparison of urban and rural Kansas is necessary in order to identify which moral issues are most important to clergy, and areas of the state in which they are most prioritized by the local pastors.

Racial diversity, financial health, and population dispersion all contribute to the culture in which Sack explains how people draw from their surroundings and belief systems to formulate opinions on what is real and good. Knowing what moral issues are important to voters provides insights to what political issues will be important to the same population. Although the figures above are not an exhaustive comparison of all facts that create the diversity of Kansas, they include statistics which adequately summarize the essence of local communities. These facts provide information on what it is like to live in Kansas, and how the

demographics of the state may contribute to what issues are at the center of the moral debate. Local controversies over morality issues have become “regular” city politics and Kansas communities illustrate this change.¹¹¹ Abortion, public school curricula, and the death penalty are issues that have been debated at length in the state legislature, argued in street protests and are frequently mentioned by media outlets. With such attention paid to them, it is possible to label them as part of a moral political agenda.

The twenty-one year long debate in the Kansas legislature over the death penalty is a good example of an issue that belongs to the states moral political agenda. There is no longer active debate over the death penalty, now that there is a law on the books which reinstated Kansas to a capital punishment state. In 1972, the Supreme Court ruled that capital punishment, as then practiced, was banned. Although reinstated, Kansas battled the issue in the state houses for 22 years before its resolution. This was, “true to the state’s cultural tradition of normative ambivalence”.¹¹² The perception of normative ambivalence, by authors Galliher and Galliher, explicates each of the moral political issues in Kansas. Symbolic of America’s culture war, Kansas is nearly always divided in two. The end to the Kansas capital punishment debate may shed some light on what it takes to bring the two sides to consensus.

Capital punishment has become a non-issue in Kansas politics today and the legislation surrounding it is considered by many proponents and opponents to be symbolic. The statute allows for only a narrow margin of potential murder cases to be considered as eligible for death as a sentence.¹¹³ During the time when the issue was hotly contested, the attempts at passing capital punishment legislation were numerous. The back and forth between legislative sessions

and governors, republicans and democrats, produced 48 death penalty bills in 18 legislative sessions, always resulting in the failure of the bill. In Governor Bennett's term 1975-1978, he worked against alternative legislation that would have instated mandatory life-in-prison sentences, because he said that the legislation would inhibit the reinstatement of a death penalty clause.¹¹⁴ This example speaks to the lengths at which interested parties will go when their belief is deep seeded. Criminals were held to lesser punishments until 1990 because the governor would not deviate from his belief that capital punishment was the right path for Kansas.

Governor Carlin 1979-1986 also impacted the issue. As a campaign promise he explained to Kansans that he would sign a constitutionally valid death bill, but when it arrived on his desk he refused to sign on "moral grounds".¹¹⁵ The debate pressed on and the state eventually adopted a mandatory 40-year sentence bill led by Governor Joan Finney, who had always expressed her position as personally opposed to the death penalty.¹¹⁶ The issue may have rested there had it not have been for the murder of 19 year old college student, Stephanie Schmidt in Pittsburg, Kansas. Following her death, several high profile murder cases were discussed by law makers. There was a strong sentiment among Kansans that there had to be special death statues in place to deal with the most heinous criminals. Galliher and Galliher consider events like the tragic rape and murder of Stephanie Schmidt to be "triggering events". They explain that when an event such as a brutal homicide is sensationalized it becomes symbolic of violent crime and can be used as a rallying message for crime policy. Stephanie's story, along with the support of her family, and the outrage felt by many citizens led to an overwhelming shift in favor of changing the law. Governor Finney stated that she believed that

Kansans favored the death penalty, and thus she explained that if a new bill were presented to her office she would allow it to become law without her signature.

The “triggering events” in this case led to legislative change that could not be achieved in 18 sessions held by Kansas lawmakers. It is possible that these trigger events impacted the people’s perception of what they considered to be real and good within their communities.¹¹⁷ If true, it is possible that only after “triggering events” occur, are people likely to change their opinions on sensitive moral issues. Further, this may also explain why moral issues are battled back and forth often without resolve, as it may take much more than debate to inspire compromise of the opposing sides.

Few issues are so readily identified as a part of a moral political agenda than the issue of abortion. Exhaustive research efforts have been made for decades in attempt to unpack the complex nature of debate, policy, and public opinion surrounding the issue. It is perhaps the most hotly contested issue, and there is no denying that it is moral in nature. Legislation surrounding the issue of abortion is potentially wide spread in society, affecting many. Even individuals who will never be directly affected by decisions regarding the reproductive rights of women are still compelled to have their opinions heard. Examining abortion under any framework of morality literature would solidify its place in the category, and it is undeniably a moral issue that is rooted in Kansas politics.

A primary battle ground for this issue rests in the middle of the state in Wichita, Kansas. Organized protesters chose this location to exploit the “normative ambivalence” that Galliher and Galliher spoke of in regard to Kansas.¹¹⁸ Because state residents are at odds on so many

moral issues, they knew that a debate over abortion would be cause for social explosion, and become a political discussion that could not be ignored. Thomas Frank prefaced the discussion of the clash of the two opposing sides, “Here you had Tiller’s clinic situated among a population that is world-famous for its spiritual enthusiasm.”¹¹⁹ Abortion doctor George Tiller practiced late-term abortions in his Wichita clinic until his death in June 2009, but his actions alone did not fuel the debate.

Anti-abortion protesters planned a summer devoted to acts of civil disobedience in Wichita in 1991. The intention was to raise awareness of the issue and strengthen the movement. The turnout was tremendous and the activists were successful in halting clinic operations for the first week of the protests. The movement’s leaders saw this as a victory for their cause, although the local police had suggested a halt in regular operations, in order to minimize the threat of violent acts. As Kansas activist groups realized the strength in numbers that they were accumulating through high profile protests, they focused on adding members to their organizations. Mark Gietzen, the chairman of the Sedgwick county GOP, actively recruited candidates for the Republican precinct positions from the body of protesters.¹²⁰ “By 1992”, Gietzen comments in an interview with the Wichita Eagle’s Tim Golba, “we had 87 percent of our people in, identified, firm, Operation Rescue-type pro-lifers as precinct committee men and women.”¹²¹

The abortion debate in Kansas is the quintessential example of moral political agenda at work. The conservative Republicans in the state focused on this issue, almost as if to make it their own, and by which they would measure their own success. They had been able to fill the

seats with pro-lifers, but now had plans to use their political influence as a tool on the journey to impacting Kansas abortion policy. Frank argues that it was this conservative push that motivated the Kansas moderates into action, and began Kansas' struggle over this issue.¹²² They focused on legislation which would mandate stiff penalties for clinic blockades and attempted to codify pro-choice as the official Kansas position on abortion in case Roe v. Wade would be overturned, Kansas would remain a place where women could still obtain abortions.

The issue was successfully used in the power struggle between Kansas moderates and conservatives in their fight to control Kansas politics. The Republican Party began to feel the strain that the split in the party created. Reverend Robert Meneilly, a Presbyterian preacher from Mission Hills spoke out against the emersion of the extreme conservatives stating that they were, "a threat far greater than the old threat of Communism."¹²³ The political contest between first-term Republican incumbent Vincent Snowbarger, and challenger Democrat Dennis Moore, in the 1998 race for the third congressional district, illustrates the conflict inside the Republican party and exposes how the conservatives and the Christian Right began losing the power that they had enjoyed since their anti-abortion mass recruiting earlier in the decade. The district had been considered a safe Republican district prior to 1998.¹²⁴ The link between Snowbarger and the Christian Right was clear, as the organization backed him and solidified his win in the 1996 election. By 1998, however, the Christian Right was unhappy with Snowbarger's lack of support for Governor candidate and avid pro-lifer, David Miller, who lost the election by a large margin of 73 percent to 27 percent.

Further, the moderates within the party were not willing to side with Snowbarger and his extremely conservative views on issues like abortion and school prayer.¹²⁵ The conservative and moderates within the Kansas Republican Party clearly disagree on major issues such as abortion. The win for Dennis Moore is an example of how extremely conservative candidates rely on the support from the Christian Right. The original election of Vincent Snowbarger is evidence their mobilization is powerful, yet their desired policy is in many ways so extreme that it is never fully accomplished.

There is a great deal of political turbulence associated with abortion and the Christian Right throughout the 1990's in Kansas, but it did not stop there. Conservatives continue to manipulate the law when possible in order to inhibit the reproductive rights of women, and ultimately impact abortion policy. One of the latest attempts came from the office of Attorney General Phil Kline in 2003, when he issued an advisory opinion that raised the question of whether pregnancy is an "injury" when it occurs in a young woman. He asked that this question be reexamined under the reporting statute. He reasoned that all pregnancies in young women under the age of 16 be defined as having occurred as a result of sexual abuse, and claimed that this classification was a way in which to protect young women from such abuse.¹²⁶

The Harvard Law Review Association published a paper that considers the motivation behind the Attorney General's advisory opinion. Kansas' past history with the issue of abortion is cited as being the primary motivator. The authors consider Kline's attempt to be rooted in the inability of his policies to succeed in the legislature, and thus, anti-abortion activists seek to elect a "like-minded" attorney general who would enforce pre-existing laws in a way that would

be hostile to reproductive rights.¹²⁷ The district court decision stated that removing physician discretion from abuse investigation may turn laws against teens that are in place to protect them. In other words, under the interpretive opinion of Attorney General Kline, a young woman that has decided to seek an abortion with parental support and physician discretion would still be investigated by a state agency.¹²⁸ In conclusion, the court ruled that Attorney General Kline's duty to protect Kansas children from child abuse cannot supersede his duty to safeguard constitutional right and recognize both Congress and the Kansas legislature's grant of sexual and bodily autonomy to teenagers.¹²⁹

Political action surrounding reproductive rights and abortion make national headlines and are evaluated by interested scholars, such as the paper published by the Harvard Law Review Association, but Kansas politics are not only being debated by lawyers. Other issues contested within the state have scientists cringing, and the clash of evolution and spirituality is addressed with passionate discussion. Barry Palevitz reviews works by scientists discussing their take on the entanglements of science and God.¹³⁰ He argues for and against the standpoints of the biologists and biochemists perspectives throughout, but does not waver on his opinion of the average person's view of the issue. "Although we live in biology's century," he argues, "there's still Genesis, which, barring a radical rewrite, opposes what the radioisotopes, fossils, and genes tell us. At one level, I suspect a lot of people recognize a metaphor when they see it, but denying Genesis goes against a deep cultural grain, which accounts for the recoil against evolution." Palevitz's discussion is right on track with the way the Kansas conservatives grasp the issue, and how they have used their influence to impact the state's science standards.

The very public debate of Kansas schools' science standards is an example of another battle in the war over Kansas morals. Statewide, Christian Right advocates encouraged their members to run for local school board seats and provide help in furthering their cause.¹³¹ Throughout the 1990's while they attempted to change abortion policy, they also sought change in the public schools. The elimination of comprehensive sex education curricula, addition of a Christian based system aimed at teaching students "right from wrong", and most notably the focus of attention on implementing "intelligent design" as an alternative to teaching the Darwinian theory of evolution, is what the movement thought of as the right thing to do for our schools.¹³² The 1990's were full of Christian Right activists with intentions to impact the moral political agenda of Kansas, and by mid-decade they had achieved their goals in accumulating seats on local school boards. Now they set their sights on the seats for the State Board of Education. The moderates were blindsided by the grassroots organization of the conservatives and their ability to shake things up. Through an organization they created called the Kansas Education Watch Network or (KEW-NET) they recruited and trained new candidates for the Kansas Board of Education seats they had intended to obtain. These positions, up until that point, were largely low-profile and noncompetitive.¹³³ The board began to manipulate the state's science standards after the Christian Right succeeded in securing a narrow majority of the seats. Although no change actually occurred in the classroom it left media outlets around the country heavily ridiculing the decision and leaving many to wonder if Kansas was a smart location for future investment. Further, the changing policy sent fear through the academic community that Kansas high school graduates may not be competitive without the previous standard of comprehensive science education.

The Christian Right succeeded in affecting the state's evolution policies, and it sent a wakeup call to the moderate Republicans that they needed to act in order not to lose their political identity to extremists within their party. In the case of evolution the issue was settled by elections instead of the court system. The state's moderates stepped in and took back power from the Christian extremists involved in pressing this agenda. Fortunately, the change in board never had the opportunity to delete the comprehensive science curricula. Unfortunately, the state suffered ridicule nationwide. It is possible that had the issue been battled out in court, the state would have received some redeeming national attention. Literature on the subject suggests that the new standards would not have carried much weight or lasted too long. Marjorie George argued that the state of Kansas failed to satisfy the Establishment Clause requirements set forth by the Supreme Court in regarding how to change state science curriculum.¹³⁴ Additionally, had the courts settled the issue, Kansas may have at least shared the spotlight with the many other states that share similar histories in their struggle to find moral consensus on the evolution issue. Nebraska, Arizona, and New Mexico have all gone through a similar battle of morals ending with compromised standards in many cases.¹³⁵ For example, shortly following the evolution drama in Kansas, Oklahoma adopted a disclaimer that includes this statement in their science textbooks, "evolution is a theory, not fact, because no one was present when life first appeared on Earth."¹³⁶

Whether death penalty, abortion, or school standards, the common theme behind these issues is the way in which they construe the nature of the moral political agenda in Kansas. The battleground for debate on moral political issues is not only reserved for America's biggest cities and high profile contributors. Moral controversies are becoming commonplace among

state politicians, local branches of organized interests, and often end in State Supreme Courtrooms.¹³⁷ The examination of Kansas moral political issues is not complete without the inclusion of the key participants. Although it is clear in the aforementioned examples, that they are behind these debates, a closer look at them individually may uncover what motivates them. Politicians, interest groups, and clergy are some of the proponents and opponents behind the volatile debates. People receive highly influential messages on controversial issues by means of media, politicians and parties, organized interests, and clergy. Politicians will often debate morality issues because they are highly salient issues and there is little expertise needed to participate.¹³⁸ Further, politicians who associate themselves with controversial morality issues will attract single issue voters. This strategy can help to create a base of support or to label an opponent as being against a moral issue that is important to a group of voters. Although an effective campaign tool, some politicians enter office with the intention to impact or create moral legislation.

This political strategy is seemingly commonplace among Kansas politicians, and they are willing to discuss their beliefs. In a 1996 article published by the Wichita Eagle, Congressman and leader of the state's largest anti-abortion group, Todd Tiahrt expressed his disgust with the "immoral decadence in society."¹³⁹ Further, Tiahrt commented on the value of his win over the district's long standing Democratic representative, stating that "what it's all about is brining America back to God".¹⁴⁰ Tiahrt is not alone in his quest to bring morality to Kansas politics and speak for the masses. Senator Sam Brownback once referred to the country's "gross domestic piety" when expressing in a speech that American culture should be measured and monitored as we do our economy. In a 1996 congressional speech he announced that while traveling his

district the people have overwhelmingly agreed that the country's problems are rooted in moral decay as opposed to economic decline.¹⁴¹ Republican Kris Kobach challenged Democrat Dennis Moore in 2004 for the state's third district seat. During his campaign he sent mailings to potential supporters showing his intolerance for homosexual relationships. This sent a clear message about his extreme views to all members of the party.

Interest groups approach pressing moral political agendas with an equal amount of righteousness and focus as do politicians. In 2006, Fox News reported that Operation Rescue® had begun employing new tactics in their war on abortion. Operation Rescue® explains their mission in a statement on the front page of their website:

Operation Rescue® is one of the leading pro-life Christian activist organizations in the nation and has become the voice of the pro-life activist movement in America. Its activities are on the cutting edge of the abortion issue, taking direct action to restore legal personhood to the pre-born and stop abortion in obedience to biblical mandates.¹⁴²

In June of 2006 the group spent \$112,000 in purchasing a building that was home to an abortion providing clinic in Wichita, Kansas. The article speculates that the clinic had plans to vacate due to lack of business before the sale of the building, but the group has deemed it a successful move in expanding the legal ways in which to shut down abortion providers and raise awareness of the issue. Kansas special interest groups ensure that there is no shortage of awareness when it comes to the debate of abortion. Mary Culp, leader of Kansans for Life, the Kansas affiliate of the National Right to Life Committee, discussed the impact of the confirmation of Justice Samuel Alito to the U.S. Supreme Court in 2006 in an interview with PBS

host, David Brancaccio in January of the same year. She speculated that there needed to be more than just change on the court. She explained that while the group hopes for a shift on the court, the real goal of Kansans for Life is to have the issue return to the states for “a real discussion, where it can be debated in the state houses and real democracy can have a chance to take place.” Of the U.S. Supreme Court’s decision she said, “Roe slams the door on real discussion.”¹⁴³

Clearly the moral political agenda in Kansas is impacted by politicians and interest groups. Scholars have identified clergy as societal elites that also may influence local politics. Prior work in the area of clergy studies suggest that they have the ability to influence their congregations in the same way as a politician earns the trust of voters or an interest group attracts a new member. In a 2002 study conducted by Djupe and Gilbert, they argued that if clergy are publicly engaging important political issues of the day then parishioners are provided with a direct link between their faith and their political values, and this in turn may affect their political behavior. They find that clergy are active in policy debate when they sense an opportunity for change and they are supported by secular ties and agreeable congregations. The purpose of this research is to build on these theories and to determine when it is that Kansas pastors sense these opportunities and have the intention to guide their congregants’ to decisions on these issues. Debated moral issues in Kansas are not difficult to identify, such as the issues mentioned above. It is easy to tell what is important to politicians and to organized interests groups, but if asked, how would Kansas pastors prioritize these issues? By examining their actions and listening to their words, it is possible to measure the extent to which they contribute to the moral political agenda in Kansas.

Eighty-six Kansas pastors responded to a survey aimed at uncovering how they prioritized issues in which they become involved, and to what degree they actively participate. This group provides a uniquely created data set used to measure the opinions and actions of Kansas clergy. Instead of defining the states' MPA solely by the most common issues discussed by the media and scholars, it is important to know what issues are being addressed inside Kansas churches. Information that pastors deem important to their congregants and communities explain a great deal about the states' religious leaders.

Chapter 5

Spiritual and Political Viewpoints of Kansas Clergy

In Their Words

Chapters one through four have displayed the variety of elements which may influence Kansas pastors to participate politically to differing degrees. However, it is the everyday issues which exist in their communities and within the lives of their congregants that are the driving force behind their actions. Whether through public address or private council, ministers in every church in all American communities hold valuable leadership positions and strive to enhance the lives of their followers. Chapter 5 explores the different pastoral political action occurring when a member of the clergy is faced with a moral issue verses a social issue. By comparing the level of action category with an important issue, it is possible to determine which social and moral circumstances most motivate clergy.

“Our church has 50 members; our town has a population of 65. ‘Nuff said.”

As determined by collected survey data, Kansas pastors consider the immediate life circumstances of their followers to be their greatest concern. While moral issues and family values are important, they are more abstract and not as highly prioritized by the pastorate. Often seen throughout the pastoral responses are strong opinions voiced on many issues, and political action on few. It is possible to argue that while clergy have strong personal feelings toward an issue, they only take action when their congregants are directly affected. Religious expression, family problems, crime, abortion, sex education, and public school science

standards are all issues which Kansas pastors have identified as being highly important to their congregants. Although there is a high level of interest, and often strong personal opinions associated with these issues, they are examples of the lack of political action among clergy.

Traditionally, organized religion often has a direct and predictable approach to issues that pertain to moral values, and because of this typically conservative view of issues, it was expected that there be a clear and defining line between morally active and socially active ministers. In other words, one may expect to find that pastors are primarily focused on the moral behavior of their congregants and the influences within the community. The data has not proven that to be accurate; instead it reveals that political action is as varied among issues as it is among individual pastors. For example, in Table 5.1, it is possible to see that rarely do any pastors address important issues in the form of adult information sessions held at the church. While 60 percent of clergy are identified as being moderately active, and six percent being considered highly active, it is surprising that more pastors are not active in this way. This table illustrates that the only issue, that has more than half of the surveyed pastors speaking publicly, is family problems.

Many survey respondents provided extra comments when questioned about adult education sessions, and it seemed that teachings differ from church to church. Some mentioned that these topics are discussed in “classes” while others emphasized the “informal” nature of discussion of these topics. Further, it is possible that clergy do not seek to “educate” because of a lack of efficacy. One moderately active pastor commented: “I have served nine years at a small protestant church in a predominantly Catholic community, I am basically a

volunteer.” Whether due to outside influence of another denomination or lack of population, efficacious attitudes of a clergy member must motivate or inhibit their actions. Another comment from a moderately active pastor: “Our church has 50 members; our town has a population of 65. ‘Nuff said.”

Table 5.1

Proportion of Adult Education Sessions by Political Issue

Issue	Education Sessions
War in Iraq	10 (12%)
Abortion	21 (25%)
Economy	16 (19%)
Hunger and Poverty	26 (31%)
Violence	12 (14%)
2008 Elections	7 (8%)
Race Relations	9 (11%)
Homosexuality as a Lifestyle	15 (18%)
Family Problems	43 (52%)
Religion and Politics	21 (25%)

Source: Compiled by author from survey data. N=83.

Clergy and Moral Issues

Abortion

With so much attention paid to the issue of abortion by researchers, there are many preconceived ideas about who supports legal abortion and who adamantly objects to it. Few would argue that most members of the clergy, in any denomination, would not be in favor of the use of abortion. There is, however, a significant population of pastors that value the freedom of choice and like many Americans would like to see a reduction in abortion, but are far from participating in the attempt to eliminate the practice. In Kansas, abortion has been a hotly contested issue since the 1970's. There are countless pro-life organizations and politicians who work tirelessly in an attempt to change the state's abortion laws, which allow for late term abortions. It was expected that among Kansas pastors there would be a high level of political action surrounding this issue.

There are many ways in which to identify elevated action among members of the clergy. Within this research the question of adult education sessions was one way to determine if attention was paid to an issue outside of the normal church services. In the case of abortion, only 25 percent of surveyed clergy indicated that they sought to educate their congregants on the issue. This number is much lower than expected due to the fact that many pastors have unwavering opinions on the issue. An overwhelming proportion of pastors provided additional comments on the various issues that they were asked to consider. Only seven pastors volunteered additional thoughts on the subject of abortion. This may be due to a couple of extraneous factors. It is possible that the members of the clergy feel there is little room for

debate on the issue of abortion. They may consider it to be against the ways of God and church and leave it at that, or it is possible that the issue has been over discussed. They may be willing to discuss the issue with congregants privately, but do not feel that it is within their duties to take their opinions to the community.

With the few abortion activists in Kansas, who are responsible for generating a great deal of noise, it may not be necessary for the majority of clergy to spend time and resources on this subject with any great consistency. For example, in Table 5.2, the surveyed ministers are asked to indicate their view of the issue and rank its importance within their community. It is clear that there is little difference on the opinions of abortion among all levels of active clergy. Half of each category of pastors believes it is one of the most important issues. Two unused answer options within this question, “Don’t Know” and “Not Applicable”, were not selected by any of the survey respondents, indicating that there are strong opinions among clergy on the issue.

Table 5.2

Pastoral Opinion of Abortion Issue

Levels of Activity

	Non-Active	Moderately Active	Highly Active
Levels of Importance			
Among Most Important	14 (50%)	26 (51%)	2 (50%)
Important	12 (43%)	22 (43%)	2 (50%)
Not Very Important	2 (7%)	3 (6%)	0 (0%)

Percentages are column percents. $X^2 = 0.347$; 4df; $P = 0.987$; $N = 83$.

However the strong opinions do not automatically mean that clergy are taking action on the issue. Table 5.3 reveals that while they may have strong opinions about the importance of the issue, the regularity with which it is discussed is lower. In each category, more than half of the respondents indicate that they “sometimes” discuss the issue. Even among the most politically active clergy, they do not select “very often” to describe their discussion of abortion.

Table 5.3

Relationship between Pastoral Political Action and Abortion Discussions

Levels of Activity

	Non-Active	Moderately Active	Highly Active
Abortion Discussion			
Very Often	1 (3%)	4 (8%)	0 (0%)
Sometimes	14 (50%)	38 (74%)	4 (100%)
Almost Never	13 (47%)	9 (18%)	0 (0%)

Percentages are column percents. $\chi^2 = 9.83$; 4df; P = .043; N = 83.

Finally, the clergy are asked to indicate how frequently they are active within their community to address the issue of abortion. The responses to this question are found within Table 5.4 and they are valuable because it is possible to separate opinion from action by understanding if the issue of abortion is motivating religious leaders into action. The most change is among the moderately active clergy. Nearly half of the respondents that selected that they discuss abortion “sometimes” indicated that they “almost never” take action within their communities. Among the highly active it may seem reasonable to expect that they are the most likely to move into the “very often” category, but the change in responses indicate that there is

less action than discussion. There is little debate that abortion is an important topic everywhere in America, but the data show that in Kansas this moral political issue is most likely not driven by a large cadre of religious leaders. If abortion continues to be hotly contested in Kansas politics, it is arguable that organized interests and politicians are leading the debate.

Table 5.4
Relationship Between Pastoral Community Action and Abortion

Levels of Activity			
	Non-Active	Moderately Active	Highly Active
Abortion Action			
Very Often	0 (0%)	6 (12%)	0 (0%)
Sometimes	12 (43%)	24 (47%)	3 (75%)
Almost Never	14 (50%)	20 (39%)	1 (25%)
Not Applicable	2 (7%)	1 (2%)	0 (0%)

Percentages are column percents. $\chi^2 = 5.30$; 4df; $P = 0.258$; $N = 80$.

There were only a few pastors who volunteered comments on the issue of abortion, and they did not include an extreme conservative message that some may expect from this population of Kansas leaders. Among the highly active: "I do not like the Moral Majority's hypocrisy." Most comments were from the moderately active clergy: "We are in agreement there isn't much to discuss." When asked about community action: "I preach respect for life before birth, after birth, until old age, and end of life. We cannot support war and be against abortion at the same time." Although this pastor shows great insight and thought on the

subject, their answer to the question of action was “almost never”. One comment in particular exemplifies the argument that clergy are not the leaders of the moral political agenda within the state. They noted, when asked how important the issue of abortion is: “Important as a moral and ethical issue, but not as a single issue voting strategy.”

Sex Education in Public Schools

With the number of abstinence-only programs on the rise throughout America’s public schools, it is important to gauge the opinions of community leaders who influence parents and professionals about how and what to teach the country’s youth. Sex Education is arguably the hottest

**“Keep your organ in storage
until you have wedlock to
replace the padlock!”**

debate in schools today. There is no national standard and many young people are getting only information that has been considered by their community leaders as “appropriate”. The fact that clergy are leaders in their communities, make it plausible that their messages may influence what our kids are eventually taught about sex.

Clergy differ little on their opinions of sexual education within public schools regardless of their level of action. Within each category of surveyed pastors, the majority supports education that includes abstinence. Only a small proportion of the entire group is non-supportive, with 10 percent indicating that they oppose any education; Table 5.6 provides an interesting comparison. When abstinence is removed from the question the responses change significantly, and 30 percent of pastors oppose sex education. The data suggest that, in Kansas, pastors overwhelmingly feel that abstinence only sex education is appropriate for schools. It is

possible that these opinions are among the messages being preached to congregants with children, or to congregants who are educators. While it is not possible to know from this study the scope of influence that pastors may have when local schools select their sex education programs, it may be an area in which pastors guide decisions.

Table 5.5 illustrates how the opinions of clergy changed when abstinence is no longer mentioned within the sexual education question. For example, the first question asks how they feel about sexual education that includes both contraception and abstinence. The second question is aimed at determining the value that clergy place on contraception, by asking if they support the teaching of safe sex practices in order to avoid disease. The word abstinence is omitted entirely from the second question. This may be the cause for so many voluntary comments among pastors. In many cases they added “if abstinence is the primary message” as a condition to selecting that they support sex education. When disease is mentioned, pastors often again take the opportunity to remind that an abstinence only program would teach kids how to 100 percent avoid sexually transmitted diseases: “Condoms do not guarantee a person will not get AIDS. Abstinence should be presented as the only 100 percent effective means to avoid conception and STDs.”

Table 5.5

Clergy Support for Sex Education Including Contraception and Abstinence

Levels of Activity			
	Non-Active	Moderately Active	Highly Active
Support for Sex Education			
Support	16 (89%)	30 (83%)	2 (100%)
Oppose	2 (11%)	6 (17%)	0 (0%)
Percentages are column percents. $\chi^2 = 0.648$; 2df; P = 0.723; N = 56 ¹⁴⁴ .			

Compared to the other topics that were included within the survey, the clergy commented more on this topic than any of the others. While there were only two questions asked about sexual education, there were 16 pastors who offered additional comments on their feelings toward sexual education. This accounts for nearly 20 percent of surveyed pastors from which three expressed concerns for children not receiving enough information to keep them safe. The 13 other clergy who expressed additional opinions echoed each others' messages. That message is abstinence, abstinence, abstinence.

Table 5.6

Clergy Support for Education of Safe Sex Practices In Order to Prevent AIDS

Levels of Activity

	Non-Active	Moderately Active	Highly Active
Support for Sex Education			
Support	8 (53%)	17 (50%)	2 (66%)
Oppose	7 (47%)	17 (50%)	1 (33%)

Percentages are column percents. $\chi^2 = 0.324$; 2df; $P = 0.851$; $N = 52^{145}$.

Other survey topics that indicate pastors' opinions and potential political action when it comes to moral issues within their communities include gambling and pornography. The majority indicate that they feel both topics are of importance, but rarely do they rank them among the most important issues that their followers face. While political action was not measured on these issues specifically, there does not seem to be enough interests around either topic to have any significant impact on the political actions of clergy.

Gambling and pornography, like other morality issues that pastors address, are ranked similarly by individual clergy from each category of political action. This finding within the data suggests that while opinions are strong, pastors are more likely to focus on issues which are directly affecting the lives of their congregants. Issues such as family problems, as illustrated by Table 5.1, seem to be where clergy focus time and resources, and may only address the more abstract moral issues when necessary.

Clergy and Social Issues

Evolution v. Creation

The debate over the death penalty legislation in Kansas was previously mentioned to illustrate elements of the moral political agenda. In recent years, the attention paid to the issue has diminished, but there is no shortage of hotly contested issues within Kansas. The issue of public school science standards is one example. It has become so contested that the election of Kansas School Board members is more closely followed by the public, and seats are coveted by citizens who are also members of organized interests that aim to bring religious teachings into schools and eliminate the teaching of evolution, and vice versa.

Unlike abortion, the surveyed clergy had much to say about the issue of creationism and evolution in our state's public schools. While the clergy seemed unusually moderate in their comments on abortion, they tend to be more conservative when asked about science standards. Although they collectively seemed to support the teaching of both creationism and evolution in schools, many made clear that they would only support evolution in our schools if it were presented as a theory and unable to be

"It would depend on the teacher and their ability to be unbiased; not teaching one over the other."

proven; only a few said the same about creation. Further, many clergy members felt that the two must be taught equally, yet teaching a Christian based creation theory would violate many church and state statutes. Table 5.7 details the proportion of pastors who followed the most

recent race for the vacant seats on the Kansas School Board. It is clear that while they have strong feelings toward the debate, approximately half of them followed the elections.

Table 5.7
Clergy Interest in the Kansas School Board Elections

Levels of Activity			
	Non-Active	Moderately Active	Highly Active
Interested in Elections			
Yes	9 (68%)	26 (52%)	2 (50%)
No	19 (32%)	24 (48%)	2 (50%)

Percentages are column percents. $\chi^2 = 2.90$; 2df; $P = 0.235$; $N = 82$.

When comparing the feelings of pastors and public school science standards, there is little difference among the level of action categories. There is overwhelming support for the teaching of creationism in public schools. Among non-active and moderately active clergy the support is an obvious majority of respondents. When asked about the teaching of evolution, the majority of non-active and moderately active ministers also indicate their support, but to a lesser degree. Instead of 93 percent and 80 percent in support of creationism respectively, only 68 percent and 61 percent answer that they support evolution teaching within the school system. When comparing the two elements of Table 5.8, it is interesting to note that when the level of activity increases, so does the percentage of pastors who oppose the teaching of either theory. More liberal political views are often associated with the belief in separation of church and state. Three out of the four pastors who are identified as being highly active also considered

themselves moderate when asked about their political views. Nearly all of the non active pastors indicate that while they oppose evolution, they support the teaching of creationism.

Table 5.8
Clergy Support for Teaching Evolution in Public Schools

Levels of Activity			
	Non-Active	Moderately Active	Highly Active
Support for Evolution			
Support	19 (73%)	30 (67%)	1 (25%)
Oppose	7 (27%)	15 (33%)	3 (75%)

Percentages are column percents. $\chi^2 = 3.61$; 2df; P = 0.165; N = 75¹⁴⁶.

Clergy Support for Teaching Creationism in Public Schools

Levels of Activity			
	Non-Active	Moderately Active	Highly Active
Support for Creationism			
Support	26 (93%)	41 (80%)	1 (25%)
Oppose	1 (3.5%)	8 (16%)	3 (75%)

Percentages are column percents. $\chi^2 = 14.1$; 2df; P = 0.001; N = 80.

Crime

Crime and violence is an important issue that all community leaders and legislators face in America. The clergy responded to several questions that gauge their opinion on how they rank the safety of their communities. Table 5.9 illustrates that their answers are similar to the other survey responses; clergy are not significantly different in their opinions across the level of action categories. While nearly all pastors agreed that crime is “important” or “among the most important”, a majority of them report that there are not areas near them (within a mile) in which they are afraid to walk at night. Some pastors provided comments on their feelings toward crime in their areas, and one indicated that lack of crime is the reason that they chose to make Kansas their home. Overall, crime does not seem to be a motivator for political action in most areas, as only 23 percent of respondents rated crime as “among the most important” issues. Even when the responses are separated into rural respondents and urban respondents, there is little indication that opinions differ among pastors based on location.

“I favor the 2nd Amendment right for citizens to own guns.”

Table 5.9

Relationship of Pastoral Action and Crime Issue

Levels of Activity

	Non-Active	Moderately Active	Highly Active
Crime Importance			
Among Most Important	6 (21%)	11 (22%)	2 (50%)
Important	21 (75%)	39 (77%)	2 (50%)
Not Very Important	1 (4%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)

Percentages are column percents. $\chi^2 = 1.99$; 4df; $P = 0.737$; $N = 83$.

Pastoral Action and Fear of Walking at Night

Levels of Activity

	Non-Active	Moderately Active	Highly Active
Afraid to Walk at Night			
Yes	11 (41%)	11 (22%)	2 (50%)
No	16 (59%)	39 (78%)	2 (50%)

Percentages are column percents. $\chi^2 = 3.79$; 2df; $P = 0.150$; $N = 81$.

The surveyed clergy were asked to rank the importance of gun restriction. This question was aimed at understanding the link between violent areas and politically active clergy. It can be argued that if clergy serve a socioeconomically distressed area that suffers from high gun violence, then there may be reason for action surrounding gun restriction laws. On this issue, the pastors have mixed opinions. Within Table 5.10, the only area in which there is a clear

majority of opinion regarding the control of weapons is within the pastors categorized as highly active. Two of four of these respondents believe that gun restriction laws are among the most important issues. This may be due to the fact that 3 of these 4 clergy serve urban areas, but with a population size that is so small it is not a generalization that can be made.

Table 5.10

Pastoral Activity and Gun Restriction Issue

Levels of Activity

	Non-Active	Moderately Active	Highly Active
Gun Restriction Importance			
Among Most Important	5 (19%)	3 (6%)	2 (50%)
Important	12 (44%)	32 (64%)	2 (50%)
Not Very Important	10 (37%)	15 (30%)	0 (0%)

Percentages are column percents. $\chi^2 = 9.85$; 4df; $P = 0.043$; $N = 83$.

The data uncovered other opinions relating to the issue of gun restriction. In many cases the personal political opinions of the clergy were brought to light. Clearly, the issue of violent crime was not the first to come to mind when posed with a gun restriction question. Most comments were directed at the Constitution's second amendment and the right to bear arms: "A free people must have self defense." "I believe the constitution doesn't allow gun restriction (unless you are a felon)." Although not the intended result, the opinions of the pastors on gun restriction do echo the level of conservatism within their profession and in the state of Kansas.

There are many factors that contribute to the safety and productivity of an area. While a majority of pastors indicated that they consider crime to be of high importance within their

communities, they provided fewer than expected education sessions on topics, such as, the economy (19%), hunger and poverty (31%), and violence (14%) that can be contributing factors to the amount of crime an area may face. More specifically, pastors showed little concern for the minimum wage paid to workers, yet hunger and poverty and the economy rank as important issues for most of the respondents. The perceived importance of the minimum wage is illustrated in Table 5.11, and exemplifies a disconnection between concern for the whole community (crime) and concern over specific issues (minimum wage).

Table 5.11
Pastoral Activity and Minimum Wage Issue

	Levels of Activity		
	Non Active	Moderately Active	Highly Active
Importance of Minimum Wage			
Extremely Important	0 (0%)	2 (4%)	0 (0%)
Important	3 (12%)	10 (21%)	2 (50%)
Somewhat Important	12 (46%)	20 (42%)	2 (50%)
Not Important	11 (42%)	16 (33%)	0 (0%)

Percentages are column percents. $\chi^2 = 6.05$; 6df; $P = 0.417$; $N = 78$.

It is possible that most pastors are more comfortable in a caretaker and guidance provider role, rather than as a political activist. Many members of the clergy may exhaust their resources in providing their services to congregants who already suffer from society's plight, and are left with little time to be proactive among law makers and other leaders that may seek

to change policy. This finding is yet another indicator that pastors are focused on the realities of their followers, and have little time for the abstract problems within society.

Clergy are an important part of American communities and they offer a great deal of information to researchers regarding what people value, and what they wish for within their lives. They have become a more commonly studied group of professionals over time, yet they continue to challenge our discipline. This is due to the fact that they are as diverse and complex as the people in which they serve.

This research has compared moral and social issues that clergy address with their “flock” in all areas of the state. Data provided was not often presented as a comparison of urban and rural specific to issue. While it is clear from the survey data that location may impact a person’s opinions on individual issues, there are far too many factors that affect the behavior of clergy to know if they address situations differently solely based on their location. Instead of comparing issue to pastor location, rural or urban was compared to whether or not the minister is “active” or non-active”. Table 5.12 is a look at the relationship between the pastors’ location and their indication of political activity or no political activity. It is clear that regardless of rural or urban location, the active and non-active ministers are proportionate. A majority of urban pastors are active at 67 percent; the same is true for rurally located pastors, 62 percent of that category is considered active. These findings are consistent with the whole sample of Kansas pastors in which 65 percent of them are classified as being active to some degree. There were too few “highly-active” pastors within the data to analyze them separately, therefore, “active” and “non-active” were chosen as the activity levels. There is no clear relationship between political

activity and location alone, but location may indicate degree of pastoral political action when compared to ideology.

Table 5.12

Pastoral Political Action by Setting

	Levels of Action	
	Non-Active	Active
Setting		
Urban	17 (33%)	34 (67%)
Rural	10 (38%)	16 (62%)
Total N=77	27	50

Percentages are row percents. $\chi^2 = 0.199$; 1df; P = 0.656; N = 77.

Location is only one possible contributing factor to a pastor's decision to become politically active. For example, it is possible that their own ideologies motivate them to be more or less politically engaged. As illustrated by table 5.12, it is possible to see that active ministers are not necessarily found in one type of community; instead activity among ministers may be decided by the degree of conservatism or liberalism in which they favor. Table 5.13 compares the relationship between ideology and activity in order to determine if this personal resource of each individual pastor is a cause for political action within their role as clergy. The majority of ministers identify themselves as conservative at 62 percent of the total respondents; an equally strong majority of the conservatives are considered "active" with 67 percent of the pastors in this category. Are actives more conservative? It would seem so when compared to the moderate respondents, among the 27 percent of ministers that consider themselves moderate,

57 percent are active and 43 percent are non-active. There is a 10 percent difference in each category when compared to the conservative pastors. It can be argued that there are too few cases within the study to definitively state that conservative ideology begets political action in Kansas. This is further exemplified by the respondents that label their ideologies as liberal. Among the liberal pastors, of which account for only 8 percent of overall respondents, 100 percent of them are within the politically active category. Again, this data can be affected by too few cases; or it is possible that the stronger ideologies will produce more highly active individuals, regardless of whether a person is liberal or conservative. When applied to the study of Kansas, it can be argued that the ideological portrayal of Kansas as mostly conservative is demographically representative. The same is true when considering other elements from within the sample; older, white, and male.

Table 5.13

Pastoral Political Action by Ideology

	Levels of Activity		
	Non-Active	Moderately Active	Highly Active
Ideology			
Liberal	0 (0%)	6 (12%)	6 (8%)
Moderate	9 (36%)	12 (24%)	21 (28%)
Conservative	16 (64%)	33 (65%)	49 (64%)

Percentages are row percents. $\chi^2 = 3.89$; 2df; P = 0.143; N = 76.

The depiction of Kansas pastors is of a homogeneous group, yet it is possible that when political wedge issues arise a small percentage of ministers may be motivated to act politically

on behalf of their “flock”. When active pastors are compared by location and ideology, it is clear that ideology has much more potential to influence the decision for political action, but among the ministers with strong ideologies it is important to know where they reside throughout the state. This is relevant because if the ministers with the strongest ideologies are the most active, then by comparing their location, it is arguable that political activity is taking place more frequently in one part of the state over another. Table 5.14 illustrates the relationship between location of pastor and their political ideology. This data shows that the majority of pastors in rural Kansas are conservative with 41 percent of the respondents falling into both categories. Each of the pastors that have liberal ideological views are residing and preaching in urban areas of the state. If location and ideology are related, it is possible that the mix of strong ideologically perspectives within urban areas will generate more political action around important issues. Conversely, while the conservative ideologies of the rural areas may be strong, the communities are more likely to be ideologically homogenous and therefore have less to debate.

Table 5.14

Pastoral Political Ideology by Setting

	Setting		Total
	Rural	Urban	
Ideology			
Liberal	0 (0%)	6 (100%)	6 (9%)
Moderate	5 (28%)	13 (72%)	18 (25%)
Conservative	19 (41%)	27 (59%)	46 (66%)

Percentages are row percents. $\chi^2 = 4.47$; 2df; P = 0.107; N = 70.

Overall, through an examination of Kansas clergy, it is clear that while ministers occasionally become politically active, it is more common for them to be information providers to their congregants. Pastors nearly always harbor strong opinions regarding political issues, and yet only sometimes become active outside of their church. Similar to the data from previous studies, Kansas clergy have the potential to mobilize a large number of people for political purposes, and yet there seems to be no reason that suggests they would do so. By studying Kansas pastors it is possible to argue that the majority are not attempting to influence the moral political agenda within the state. Instead, it is much more probable that the large cadre of ministers contains only a small number who are politically driven enough to pursue wedge issues on a consistent basis. While these few politically active clergy may assist other state activists, they are rarely as vocal and active as politicians and organized interests. The religious leaders within this study are focusing their personal and contextual resources on supporting their “flock” in their day to day struggles. They are more concerned with issues that directly affect their congregants, such as, family, money, and individual spiritual concerns. Abstract moral issues, large political movements, and hypothetical situations rank lower when prioritizing their duties.

Chapter 6

Conclusion: Saving Souls in an American State

Each of the pastors included within this study answered questions regarding the actions that they take in regard to politically charged issues. All of them demonstrated the strength of their Christian values and opinions within the survey responses. Some of them are highly politically active, and seek involvement with their “flock” and community in order to shape the outcome of debated policy. However, most are simply not active on a consistent basis. They voice opinions that are strong and steady on most issues, but feel that their real duties lie within the everyday needs of the congregation.

The state of Kansas provides a unique and valuable setting for research. Throughout the history of the state, there has been a struggle to define moral values and social standards. There have been several hotly contested issues spanning past and present political culture. This history may contribute to the role that pastors do not play in politics. Most surveyed pastors are only moderately and inconsistently politically active. It can be argued that Kansans are accustomed to debates over moral issues within the state, and the pastors that serve them may choose to leave the politics to the politicians. It is obvious that religious issues are valuable platforms for politicians, yet politics at the pulpit was adamantly objected to by the surveyed ministers.

This study has just scratched the surface in uncovering valuable information on the pastoral behavior in Kansas, and yet it shares similarities with other works of literature within the discipline. For example, Olson’s study of the metropolitan pastors from Milwaukee, WI,

illustrates the importance that location has when determining the actions of clergy. Olson argues that pastors are more politically driven when they serve areas in socioeconomic distress. Further, they are more concerned with the social issues that impact the lives of their “flock” and not nearly as focused on issues, such as, abortion. Both studies share this important finding, because it is also true among the pastors of Kansas that they are much more involved in issues that directly affect the lives of their followers. They are also influenced by location, and in rural areas where there were fewer ideologies represented, there were fewer “active” ministers.

Another parallel that links the study of Kansas to others in the field is the existence of the church/state boundary of which ministers are aware. Jelen’s research in west central Indiana uncovered comparable feelings of limitations among clergy. Ministers in both studies were concerned about stepping over a line in which their congregants did not want them to cross. The Kansas ministers often included additional comments on the appropriateness of political action on their part. In many ways the nature of their responses warrants the argument that they are acutely aware of church/state boundaries, and thus, self-monitor their words and deeds.

The study of Kansas pastors is also valuable to the existing literature, because it examines the way in which ministers utilize public speaking to influence their congregants. Obviously, the most common ways in which they interact with their followers is through speech. The most common form being formal worship services. However, similar to Djupe and Gilbert’s finding that clergy influence can be attributed to other instances of public speech, the

study of Kansas reveals some of the other ways in which this influence can be measured. For example, Kansas pastors indicated frequency with which they held adult education sessions for the members of their church. They also expressed how often they spoke publicly on many wedge issues, and indicated how many times they contacted public officials. The findings from studying Kansas clergy can easily become the foundation for future research by building on the importance of location, perception of the ministerial role, and finally, the ways in which they choose to become active through public speech.

Overall, while clergy are an important group for study, they remain a challenging population. It is not possible to know what information each of them provide to their congregants, as there are too many of them, and their behaviors are as varied as any group of individuals. Understanding their true impact on American politics is equally difficult, yet through the culmination of the existing studies, it is arguable that the majority of them are not seeking to influence moral or social political agendas. While a few may provide the exception to this rule, most are spending resources providing everyday guidance to the people they serve.

The study of Kansas clergy has uncovered that ministers are more often concerned with family problems and less with abstract moral issues, such as abortion. More are concerned with the economy than contacting government agencies on behalf of the environment. This is evidence that pastors are more like their congregants and less like politicians. Many of the pastors surveyed indicated that they have other professions. Because so many hold positions outside of the church, they are able to relate to their followers in ways that may not be expected. For example, the economy was an important issue to many Kansas pastors. This may

be due to the fact that several hold jobs independent from their role as minister. They too may face issues of financial instability, and therefore, may be able to preach directly on the issue. The Baptists and Pentecostals are two denominations in which it is permissible for their pastors to be married and have families of their own. This is another way in which they are more able to relate to the everyday issues that affect their congregants.

The survey administered to the pastors of Kansas was given at a time when there was little intensity in the area of social and cultural moral debate. Although the state has a rich history of such debate, there were few issues that were present in the latter half of 2008 that would have been at the forefront of the pastors' minds when answering the survey questions. A future survey in a time of more intense moral debate may change the number of ministers that are politically active. A follow up study in a time of elevated issue conflict may be valuable to uncover such differences.

The data for the study of Kansas was conducted by compiling responses from a relatively small number of pastors. While the number of pastors studied is not considered a statistically representative sample, it is possible to argue that the pastors were still demographically representative. The information provided of their background is in line with the states demographic statistics regarding race, age, and political ideology. With regard to gender and education, the pastors do not mirror the state's statistics. Almost half of Kansans are women, and nearly none of the surveyed pastors were women. Still this does not suggest that the small sample of pastors is not representative. The fact is that women are a minority

within the ministerial profession, and this is true even among denominations in which female pastors are allowed.

The second area in which the demographics are not in line with state statistics is in the area of education. The pastors surveyed are an incredibly educated group. Most have completed post graduate levels of study, and none indicated that their education ended before attaining a high school diploma. This is important because pastorate credentials inevitably shape the decisions that pastors make. The socialization of these ministers is as important in determining their actions as their family histories, as well as their personal life experiences.

For these reasons, research of Kansas pastors conducted by way of case study, the data presented are credible. The respondents represent all areas of the state, all ideologies, and among them are varied levels of political action. Although the sample is not a scientific statistical representation, the research was conducted systematically, through which the true nature of Kansas ministers can be captured.

Appendix A

Methodology

This study is based on survey data collected from 83 Kansas pastors from all areas of the state. Their responses and personal comments have been included on issue importance and information regarding political activity in which they participate. The data was collected between December 2008 and February 2009. It became clear through the research process that the majority of Kansas pastors are not highly politically active. While some from the selected denominations, Pentecostal and Baptist, are very active in supporting political agendas, for the most part the large cadre of ministers are only occasionally active. The few highly active pastors are most likely responsible for creating noise surrounding important political issues. While they may create the illusion that all pastors are highly politically motivated, they are the exception rather than the rule.

In order to find a population of pastors from all areas of the state, I selected two religious denominations that exist in all Kansas communities. Pentecostal and Baptist denominations were also selected due to the level of autonomy in individual locations. These denominations have a greater diversity among their leaders, as Baptists churches are often more likely to have minority sects, primarily serving Asian or African Americans. The pastors themselves may also be from different ethnicities within these denominations, and they include women and men in their leadership roles. There are too many religious denominations within the state to have surveyed them all; limited time and resources created a necessity for narrowing the field. The list of recipients was obtained from online directories. The American

Baptist Churches USA provided a listing for all American Baptist churches in Kansas, and the Official Site of the Kansas District United Pentecostal Church provided a listing for all Kansas locations of United Pentecostal Churches. In both, the directories included churches located in all four congressional districts of Kansas.

Baptist and Pentecostal pastors, totaling 244, were contacted through the mail. This contact included an introductory letter as well as a survey and stamped envelope for its return. The survey had been pre-tested by a member of the Kansas clergy serving a different denomination. This was intentional to ensure that the survey omitted wording that may have been biased toward any denomination. There were no questions that asked a clergyman to indicate specifically how church doctrine guided them or their decisions; instead the questions asked them only to describe their perceptions of the communities they serve and activities in which they participate. The survey generated a moderate to high level of return. Of 244 surveys, nine were returned undeliverable and 83 were returned completed. Among the responses, one pastor simply wrote "No thank you", one contained a letter from church lay staff that explained the death of their pastor, hence, their inability to return a completed survey. In a response via email, a pastor provided a detailed account of why he was unwilling to participate:

"I have chosen not to fill it out. The way many of your questions are structured show a certain bias on your part, and an obvious lack of understanding between the relationship of a pastor---in the role of "Shepherd" and the congregation---in the role of "flock." While I understand you could make a case that your survey is an attempt at coming to a better understanding of these

things, I feel the information could be used to do harm to the tax exempt status of any church, if chosen to do so. You and your professor are welcomed to come to the services whenever you choose to observe us first hand.”

This pastor’s response is included here for two reasons. First, it is clear that the survey is intended as a tool to better understand the relationship of the pastor and his “flock”, as the pastor suggested, but still he was put off by the perceived bias within the question wording. This respondent is the only one who indicated unhappiness with the structure of the survey, or mentioned wording as a concern. Second, the reason that the minister decided not to reply seems to point more toward his concern with the potential harm that could come from linking political activity to American churches. Obviously, this was not the intention of the research, and while his responses are not measurable for this study, they shed a great deal of light on considerations that may need to be taken while producing future surveys or questionnaires. It is arguable that the sensitive nature of this study group requires that more precaution be taken when questioning, and if successful, then there may be less self-monitoring within their responses.

A few of the completed surveys included unanswered questions; usually the questions that were unanswered included the county in which the pastor resides, or information regarding their ideology. Issue questions were rarely left unanswered; this indicates that all of the ministers had strong opinions surrounding wedge issues. One of the most valuable portions of the survey data proved to be incorporated comments and thoughts that were listed freely in the margins by the pastors. The survey itself was designed specifically for this study with help

from established researchers in the field. The style and structure of the tool was critiqued and guided by Dr. Mark Joslyn, The University of Kansas. The question wording and content was suggested by, Dr. Paul Djupe, Denison University. Often, he provided survey questions to be used verbatim directly relating to existing clergy research. The length and subject matter was edited by Dr. Allan Cigler, who also served as advisor on this project. Each of these contributions has led the case study to a greater level of success. Because the research focuses on studying the role of pastors within one American state, it is a valuable addition to the current body of literature.

By using the case study method it is possible to provide greater detail when discussing a pastor's opinion, yet it is more difficult to make generalizations about the entire population of pastors in Kansas. Clergy in other denominations may behave differently because of their different religious traditions. Further, it is possible that the political context of communities will also be different, and when combined with the varying traditions among denominations, it is not possible to generalize their behavior. However, regardless of this limitation, the survey method was the right choice for the study of this research question. In order to have depth, and rich detail, it was necessary to focus on a smaller population. It is because of this depth that I am able to describe the religious and political variety found in areas that may otherwise be seen as homogeneous political environments. With increased research resources, in-person interviews would be a valuable supplement; this would add opportunity for pastors to elaborate on some comments which were otherwise shared only briefly.

In the design of any research, the author must consider issues of reliability and validity. The study of Kansas pastors could benefit from follow up in-person interviews, or a follow-up survey; ideally, this would take place when there is an increased intensity within the social and cultural moral debates. An increase in issue conflict such as this would provide a valuable comparison of the information that pastors provide. It is possible that the level of political action would be different among pastors at a time of increased political debate, and therefore, their opinions of what is “appropriate” pastoral activity may also change.

Validity was also a concern, and it is impossible to know if members of the clergy were the individuals who actually filled out the survey, or if church lay officials aided them in responding. It is also worth mentioning that some members of the clergy may not have been completely forthcoming in their responses. This may be because they feel, as stated by one pastor, that political action within churches is prohibited or would bring negative consequences to their church. Conversely, utilizing the personal words and detailed responses of clergy, strengthens the research. The respondents are leaders within their communities and their perceptions of political issues and community impact are insightful. By examining their differing sense of duty, and the way that they choose to influence and guide their “flock” is crucial in understanding the role of clergy across the political landscape of Kansas.

Appendix B

Survey Questions

The Influence of Kansas Clergy

1. Default Section

Dear Pastor,

My name is Stephanie Smith and I am a graduate student in political science at the University of Kansas. I am researching the different areas of political involvement among Kansas clergy. Understanding the social and political impact that members of the clergy have among their congregations and within their communities will help researchers, politicians, and policy makers understand the formation of public opinion across the state. Although participation may not benefit you directly, we believe that the information obtained from this study will help us gain a better understanding of where Kansas voters obtain political information, and how they react to the opinions of the trusted leaders in their lives.

With each added participant, my results will be more reliable and my work more complete. This survey should not take much of your time, approximately 10 minutes, and your input is greatly needed and appreciated. The information you provide will be used for academic purposes only. Your name will not be associated with this study.

Thank you very much for your willingness to participate.

Completion of this survey indicates your willingness to participate in this project and that you are over the age of eighteen.

A summary of results will be emailed to you if you have participated in the study and are interested in the findings. Please include your email address at the end of the survey to receive this information. Feel free to contact us if you have any questions or concerns.

Sincerely,

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University of Kansas
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Some people feel that survey questions do not allow for further comments or opinions. Please feel free to write in any available space if it enables you to elaborate on your thoughts.

1. How often do members of your church contact you about their spiritual concerns?

☐ Very Often

☐ Often

☐ Sometimes

☐ Rarely

☐ Never

The Influence of Kansas Clergy

2. How often do church members contact you about their political concerns?

- ☐ Very Often
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Never

3. Do you support or oppose the Theory of Creationism being taught in public schools?

- ☐ Support
- ☐ Oppose
- ☐ No Opinion
- ☐ Don't Know

4. Do you support or oppose the Theory of Evolution being taught in public schools?

- ☐ Support
- ☐ Oppose
- ☐ No Opinion
- ☐ Don't Know

5. Did you follow the race for the Kansas School Board in November?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

6. Would you be for or against sex education in the public schools. Assuming it meant promoting safe sex, contraception, AND the notion of abstinence?

- ☐ Favor
- ☐ Oppose
- ☐ Depends
- ☐ Don't Know

The Influence of Kansas Clergy

7. In order to deal with the problem of the AIDS virus, do you support or oppose the required teaching of safe sex practices such as the use of condoms, in sex education courses in public schools?

- ☐ Favor
- ☐ Oppose
- ☐ Depends
- ☐ Don't Know

8. How important is the abortion issue to you?

- ☐ One of the most important
- ☐ Important
- ☐ Not very important
- ☐ Not important
- ☐ Don't know

9. How often would you say that you and members of your congregation discuss the laws about abortion?

- ☐ Very Often
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Almost Never
- ☐ Don't know
- ☐ Not applicable

10. How often have you been active in the community dealing with abortion issues in any way?

- ☐ Very Often
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Almost Never
- ☐ Don't Know
- ☐ Not Applicable

11. How important is the issue of crime to you?

- ☐ One of the Most Important Issues
- ☐ Important
- ☐ Not Very Important
- ☐ Not Important
- ☐ Don't Know

The Influence of Kansas Clergy

12. Is there any area right around here - that is within a mile of your home or work - where you would be afraid to walk alone at night?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Don't Know
- ☐ Not Applicable

13. How important is the issue of gun restriction to you?

- ☐ One of the Most Important
- ☐ Important
- ☐ Not Very Important
- ☐ Don't Know

14. How often have you contacted government agencies or government officials regarding the following issues?

	Very Often	Often	Sometimes	Almost Never	Never
Poverty in Your Community	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Homosexuality	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Abortion	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Teen Pregnancy	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Global Warming	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Evolution Curricula in Schools	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Creationism Curricula in Schools	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Gun Ownership	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

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15. How often did you address the following issues publicly in any way in 2008?

	Very Often	Often	Seldom	Rarely	Never
A. Crime / Violent Crime	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
B. Religious Expression in Public	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>
C. The Minimum Wage	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
D. Evolution in Schools	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>
E. Creationism in Schools	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
F. Global Warming	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>
G. Environmental Stewardship	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
H. Gay Rights / Homosexuality	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>
I. Civil Unions	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
J. Abortion	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>
K. Health Care / Health Insurance	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
L. War in Iraq	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>
M. State of the Economy	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
N. Sex Education	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>
O. AIDS	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

16. Has your church held adult education sessions about any of the following? (Check all that apply)

- ☐ War in Iraq
- ☐ Abortion
- ☐ Economy
- ☐ Hunger and Poverty
- ☐ Violence
- ☐ 2008 Elections
- ☐ Race Relations
- ☐ Homosexuality as a Lifestyle
- ☐ Family Problems
- ☐ Religion and Politics

17. If yes, to question 16, who is responsible for leading the sessions? Check all that apply

- ☒ Church officials
- ☒ Guest Speakers
- ☒ Members of the Community
- ☒ We Do Not Host Any Information Sessions at the Church

The Influence of Kansas Clergy

18. When it comes to politics, do you usually think of yourself as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or haven't you thought much about this?

- ☐ Liberal
- ☐ Moderate
- ☐ Conservative
- ☐ Other
- ☐ Have Not Thought Much About It

Other (please specify)

19. If you chose liberal or conservative, would you call yourself a strong liberal or a not very strong liberal? Would you consider yourself a strong conservative or not a very strong conservative?

- ☐ Strong Liberal
- ☐ Somewhat Strong Liberal
- ☐ Strong Conservative
- ☐ Somewhat Strong Conservative
- ☐ Don't Know

20. Some people don't pay much attention to political campaigns. How about you? How interested were you in the 2008 political campaigns?

- ☐ Very Interested
- ☐ Interested
- ☐ Somewhat Interested
- ☐ A Little Interested
- ☐ Not Interested

21. How about the presidential election? How interested were you?

- ☐ Very Interested
- ☐ Interested
- ☐ Somewhat Interested
- ☐ A Little Interested
- ☐ Not Interested

22. Did you vote in the presidential election?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

The Influence of Kansas Clergy

23. Do you approve or disapprove of the way the U.S. Congress has been handling its job? Strongly or not strongly?

- ☐ Strongly Approve
- ☐ Approve
- ☐ I Haven't Thought About It
- ☐ Disapprove
- ☐ Strongly Disapprove

24. During an election year people are often asked to contribute to a CANDIDATE, POLITICAL PARTY, or OTHER ORGANIZATION. Indicate what contributions you made, if any.

	Yes, I Contributed Money	No, I Did Not Contribute Money
Individual Candidate	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Political Party	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other Group or Organization	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

25. How often can church members obtain political material at the church?

	Very Often	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
Campaign Materials	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Candidate Information	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Political Party Information	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Political Issue Information	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

26. How important are these issues within your congregation and community?

	Extremely Important	Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important	N/A
Teen Pregnancy	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Violent Crime	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
AIDS	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Homelessness	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Abortion	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
High School Drop Out Rates	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Stem Cell Research	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Racism	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Minimum Wage	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Drug / Alcohol Abuse	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Gambling	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pornography	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Other (please specify)

The Influence of Kansas Clergy

27. Rate how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
A. Some ministers believe that religion and politics do not mix, what about you?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
B. Clergy have a great potential to influence the political beliefs of their congregations.	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
C. Churches should not try to influence or lobby public officials.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
D. Civil liberties in the U.S. are threatened by groups seeking to impose their religion.	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
E. If enough people were brought to Christ, social ills would take care of themselves.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
F. Some ministers believe that saving the souls of people is most important, do you agree?	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

28. Your church was founded:

- ☒ Before 1900
- ☐ 1900-1946
- ☐ 1947-1968
- ☐ 1969-1980
- ☐ After 1980

29. Would you say that members of your congregation are primarily:

- ☒ Working Class
- ☐ Lower-Middle Class
- ☐ Middle Class
- ☐ Upper-Middle Class
- ☐ Upper Class

30. How do you perceive the majority of your congregation? Would you say that they are liberal, moderate, or conservative? Or haven't you thought about it?

- ☒ Liberal
- ☐ Moderate
- ☐ Conservative
- ☐ Ideologically Mixed
- ☐ Have Not Thought About It Much

The Influence of Kansas Clergy

31. Over the past five years, has the membership of your congregation been:

- ☐ Increasing
☐ Decreasing
☐ Stable

Please take a few moments to tell me about yourself. Remember your identity and personal information will not be revealed.

32. Were you raised in Kansas?

- ☐ Yes
☐ No

33. If yes, where in Kansas. If no, where were you raised?

34. In what year were you born?

35. In what Kansas county do you currently live?

36. Are you Male or Female?

- ☐ Male
☐ Female

37. Where do you get your political information?

- ☐ Periodicals
☐ TV
☐ Radio
☐ Internet
☐ Political Groups

Please list your preferred sources

38. Do you participate in any groups that aim to influence public policy in the state, such as, Kansans for life, or the Sierra Club? Please list any that you are active in.

The Influence of Kansas Clergy

39. Please indicated what level of education you have completed.

- ☐ Less Than High School
- ☐ High School/ GED
- ☐ Some College/ Applied Degree
- ☐ College Degree
- ☐ Post-Graduate

40. What is your ethnicity?

- ☐ White
- ☐ Black
- ☐ Asian
- ☐ Hispanic / Latino
- ☐ Other

41. I am interested in your opinions on social and political issues in your community. Would you be willing to participate in an in person interview to further discuss your opinions? Please remember that your identity will not be revealed.

- ☐ Yes, I am willing to be personally interviewed
- ☐ No, I am not willing to be personally interviewed
- ☐ I would be willing to give a telephone interview only

42. Is there anything else that you would like to tell me about that is not covered in this survey? Please feel free to use the back of the last page for extra space.

Thank you very much for your time and your information. Your contribution is important and appreciated. I would be happy to provide you with a summary of the results of this study. If you wish to receive this information please list your email address.
Again, thank you very much for your contribution.
Stephanie Smith

Chapter One. To Serve or Save

¹ For a complete set of Kansas census facts from 2008. Site update listed May 5, 2009:

<http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/20000.html>

²For a discussion of “Bleeding Kansas” and the struggle for settlement see essays in Online Collections, Title headings Territorial Kansas found online database for Kansas State Historical Society at: <http://www.kshs.org/research/topics/war/bleeding.htm> [10 May 2009].

³City-Data. Kansas Religions. 2008. Description of religious affiliations present across the state of Kansas see online database at:

<http://www.city-data.com/states/Kansas-Religions.html>

⁴ Tocqueville, Alexis de. Democracy in America. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company Inc., 2000. See chapter 2 for discussion of morals and religion.

⁵ “Exploring Constitutional Conflicts” Free Exercise of Religion. Internet on-line. 2009. For complete discussion on the First Amendment to the Constitution and the history of court cases that were challenged:

<http://www.law.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/conlaw/freeexercise.htm>.

⁶ Pfeffer, Leo. God Caesar and the Constitution. Boston: Beacon Press, 1975.

Text includes complete discussion of the United States Supreme Court cases that shape religious liberties legislation.

⁷ Pfeffer, Leo. God Caesar and the Constitution. Boston: Beacon Press, 1975, Chapter 2.

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⁹ McAdam. Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982. Morris. The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement. New York: Free Press, 1984.

¹⁰ Williams, Johnny E. “Linking Beliefs to Collective Action: Politicized Religious Beliefs and the Civil Rights Movement.” *Sociological Forum*, Vol.17, No.2 (June. 2002): 203-222.

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¹² Ibid. Discussion of Civil Rights Timeline included

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Lentz, Richard. Symbols, the News Magazines, and Martin Luther King. Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1990. See Stanley Smith, August 1968 interview with C.B. King, the Albany Movement's attorney.

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¹⁶ Doan, Alesha E., and Williams, Jean Calterone. The Politics of Virginity: Abstinence in Sex Education. Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2008.

¹⁷ Sharp, Elaine B. "Culture, Institutions, and Urban Officials" Responses to Morality Issues." *Political Research Quarterly* 4 (December 2002): 863-865.

¹⁸ Haider-Markel, Donald P. and Meier, Kenneth J. *"The Politics of Gay and Lesbian Rights: Expanding the Scope of the Conflict"* The Journal of Politics 2 (May 1996) : 332-334.

¹⁹ Doan, Alesha E., and Williams, Jean Calterone. The Politics of Virginity: Abstinence in Sex Education. Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2008.

²⁰ Hunter, James Davison. Before the Shooting Begins. New York: The Free Press A Division of Macmillan, Inc., 1994.

²¹ Sharp, Elaine B. Morality Politics in American Cities. Lawrence: The University Press of Kansas, 2005.

²² Haider-Markel, Donald P. and Meier, Kenneth J. *"The Politics of Gay and Lesbian Rights: Expanding the Scope of the Conflict"* The Journal of Politics 2 (May 1996) : 332-334.

²³ Djupe, Paul A., and Gilbert, Christopher P. "The Political Voice of Clergy." The Journal of Politics 2 (May 2002).

²⁴ Doan, Alesha E., and Williams, Jean Calterone. The Politics of Virginity: Abstinence in Sex Education. Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2008.

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Chapter Two. Denominations: Religion and Political Influence

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³² Bloch-Hoell, Nils. *The Pentecostal Movement Its Origin, Development, and Distinctive Character*. Oslo: Scandinavian University Books, 1964.

Sharp, W.A. Seward. *History of Kansas Baptists*. Kansas City: Kansas City Seminary, 1939.

³³ For a complete discussion of the Baptist Historical Society and their role in the activities in which American Baptist Churches USA is involved see: American Baptist Historical Society webpage at <http://www.abhsarchives.org/>

³⁴ For complete listing of all American Baptist Churches USA that received surveys for this study see: <http://www.abcis.org/public/ChurchSearch.asp>

³⁵ For discussion of the influence of Baptists in the American Colonies see American Baptist Churches website at:

<http://www.abcusa.org/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=cgvZuPqWxVU%3d&tabid=80>

³⁶ Sharp, W.A. Seward. *History of Kansas Baptists*. Kansas City: Kansas City Seminary, 1939.

³⁷ For description of the identity of American Baptists and the use of the Bible see:

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- ⁴⁰ Ibid. Contains complete discussion of the history of Isaac McCoy and his missions in Kansas.
- ⁴¹ Nichol, John Thomas. Pentecostalism. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1966.
- ⁴² For the Kansas District of the United Pentecostal Church see:
<http://www.kansasdistrictupc.org/index.html>
- ⁴³ A complete history and information regarding the parent organization, known as, United Pentecostal Church International see: <http://www.upci.org/>
- ⁴⁴ Nichol, John Thomas. Pentecostalism. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1966.
- ⁴⁵ Bloch-Hoell, Nils. The Pentecostal Movement Its Origin, Development, and Distinctive Character. Oslo: Scandinavian University Books, 1964.
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- ⁴⁷ Russell Gaver, Jessyca. Pentecostalism. New York: Award, 1971.
- ⁴⁸ Woodberry, Robert D. and Smith, Christian S. "Fundamentalism et al: conservative Protestants in America." Annual Review of Sociology 24 (1998): 25-45.
- ⁴⁹ Olson, Laura R. Filled With Spirit and Power: Protestant Clergy in Politics. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000.
- ⁵⁰ Bloch-Hoell, Nils. The Pentecostal Movement Its Origin, Development, and Distinctive Character. Oslo: Scandinavian University Books, 1964.
- ⁵¹ Nichol, John Thomas. Pentecostalism. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1966. Events of 1900-1901 in Pentecostal Kansas are detailed.
- ⁵² Ibid. p. 29.
- ⁵³ Definition listed according to Princeton University see:
<http://wordnetweb.princeton.edu/perl/webwn?s=evangelical>
- ⁵⁴ Interview with Mark Noll includes complete discussion of "what is an evangelical" see: PBS News at : <http://www.pbs.org/wnet/religionandethics/week733/interview.html>
- ⁵⁵ Olson, Laura R. Filled With Spirit and Power: Protestant Clergy in Politics. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000. Discussion of the nature of evangelical denominations p. 47.

⁵⁶ Russell Gaver, Jessyca. *Pentecostalism*. New York: Award, 1971.

⁵⁷ Campbell, David E. "Acts of Faith: Churches and Political Engagement." *Political Behavior* 26 (June 2004): 155-159.

⁵⁸ Green, John C. "The Christian Right and the 1994 Elections: An Overview." In Mark J. Rozell and Clyde Wilcox eds. *God at the Grass Roots The Christian Right in the 1994 Elections*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 1995.

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⁶⁰ Ibid.

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⁶² Diamond, Sara. *Spiritual Warfare the Politics of the Christian Right*. Boston: South End Press, 1989.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Cigler, Allan J. "*Déjà Vu All Over Again The 2004 Kansas Third District Congressional Race*." In David B. Magleby, J.Quin Monson, and Kelly Patterson eds. *Electing Congress: New Rules for an Old Game*. Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 2006.

⁶⁶ Diamond, Sara. *Spiritual Warfare the Politics of the Christian Right*. Boston: South End Press, 1989.

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⁷² Wheeler, Tim. "Corporate America Keeps Bob on the Dole" People's Weekly World, Online Edition, 31 August 1996.

⁷³ Kolbert, Elizabeth. "Politics: A Political Life; Abortion, Dole's Sword in '74, Returns to Confront Him in '96" New York Times, New York Edition, 8 July 1996, Section A, 1.

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Chapter Three. The Political Influence of Clergy

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⁷⁷ Olson, Laura R., and Crawford, Sue E. S. *"Clergy in Politics: Political Choices and Consequences."* In Sue E. S. Crawford and Laura R. Olson eds. Christian Clergy in American Politics. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.

⁷⁸ Jelen, Ted G. *"Note for a Theory of Clergy as Political Leaders."* In Sue E. S. Crawford and Laura R. Olson eds. Christian Clergy in American Politics. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.

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⁸¹ Stark, Rodney, Foster, Bruce D., Glock, Charles Y., Quinley Harold E. Wayward Shepherds Prejudice and the Protestant Clergy. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1971.

⁸² Jelen, Ted G. "Clergy and Abortion." Review of Religious Research 34 (December 1992) : 132-142.

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⁹⁰ Rosenton, Steven J. and Hansen, John Mark. Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America. New York: Macmillan, 1993.

⁹¹ For complete discussion of the use of resources in political participation see: Barry, Verba, and Schlozman "Beyond Ses: A Resource Model of Political Participation" American Political Science review 89 (June 1995) : 271.

⁹² Olson, Laura R. Filled With Spirit and Power: Protestant Clergy in Politics. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000.

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⁹⁶ Ibid. p. 31.

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Chapter Four. The Study Setting: Kansas

⁹⁸ For complete discussion of Kansas historical figures, timelines, and policy outcome see: Kansas State Historical Society Internet on-line. 2009. <http://www.kshs.org/index.htm>

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<http://www.kshs.org/research/topics/war/bleeding.htm>

¹⁰⁰ "Man Weds 14 Year Old Girl, Faces Charges" ABC News 20/20, 13 September, 2005, Database on-line available at: <http://abcnews.go.com/GMA/Story?id=1121138&page=3>. [1 June 2009].

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¹⁰⁴ Djupe, Paul A., and Gilbert, Christopher P. "The Resourceful Believer: Generation Civic Skill in Church." *The Journal of Politics* 68 (February 2006) : 116-127.

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¹⁰⁶ Cromartie, John, and Bucholtz, Shawn. "Defining the "Rural" in Rural America." *Amber Waves: The Economics of Food Farming and Natural Resources, and Rural America*. June 2008

Database available on-line at:
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¹⁰⁷ For complete discussion on USDA standards and definitions of urban and rural see:

<http://www.ers.usda.gov/AmberWaves/June08/Features/RuralAmerica.htm>

¹⁰⁸ Classification of Kansas counties was determined by population of each county as published by the Kansas Statistical Abstract, 2008. See chapter 16 on population.

<http://www.ipsr.ku.edu/ksdata/ksah/population/m>

¹⁰⁹ U.S. Census Bureau. *Kansas*. 2008. Internet on-line. Available from <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/20000.html> [10 May 2009]. For a complete set of Kansas census facts from 2008. Site update listed May 5, 2009.

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¹¹¹ Sharp, Elaine B. *Morality Politics in American Cities*. Lawrence: The University Press of Kansas, 2005.

¹¹² Galliher, James M., and Galliher, John F. *“Déjà vu All Over Again”: The recurring Life and Death of Capital Punishment Legislation in Kansas.* *Social Problems* 44 (August 1997) : 369-382.

¹¹³ For discussion on current capital punishment statues see:

<http://www.sedgwickcounty.org/da/death.html>

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¹¹⁵ Ibid.

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¹¹⁹ Frank, Thomas. *What’s the Matter With Kansas?* New York: Metropolitan Books / Henry Holt and Company, 2004.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.* Chapter 5 includes discussion of Kansas debate on abortion.

¹²¹ *Ibid.* Tim Golba interview in the *Wichita Eagle* 25 November 1994. Cited by Thomas Frank chapter 5.

¹²² Frank, Thomas. *What’s the Matter With Kansas?* New York: Metropolitan Books / Henry Holt and Company, 2004.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ Cigler, Allan J. “The 1998 Kansas Third Congressional District Race.” In David B. Magleby ed. *Outside Money: Soft Money and Issue Advocacy in the 1998 Congressional Elections.* New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ Constitutional Law. Right to Informational Privacy. District Court Grants Preliminary Injunction against Enforcement of State Law Requiring Reporting of All Sexual Activity by Minors. *“Aid for Women v. Foulston”* *Harvard Law Review* 118 (December 2004) : 781-783.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

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¹³¹ Cigler, Allan J., Joslyn, Mark, and Loomis, Burdett A. *“The Kansas Christian Right and the Evolution of Republican Politics.”* In John C. Green, Mark J. Rozell, and Clyde Wilcox eds. *The Christian Right in American Politics Marching to the Millennium.* Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2003.

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¹³⁴ George, Marjorie. *“And Then God Created Kansas? The Evolution/Creationism Debate in America’s Public Schools.”* University of Pennsylvania Law Review 149 (January 2001) : 847.

¹³⁵ Scott, Eugenie C. “Not (Just) in Kansas Anymore.” Science 288 (May 200) : 813.

¹³⁶ Ibid. Includes discussion on the variety of states that argue science standards within the public school system.

¹³⁷ Sharp, Elaine B. *Morality Politics in American Cities.* Lawrence: The University Press of Kansas, 2005.

¹³⁸ Haider-Markel, Donald P. and Meier, Kenneth J. *“The Politics of Gay and Lesbian Rights: Expanding the Scope of the Conflict”* The Journal of Politics 2 (May 1996) : 332-334.

¹³⁹ Frank, Thomas. *What’s the Matter With Kansas?* New York: Metropolitan Books / Henry Holt and Company, 2004, chapter 3.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² For explanation and mission of Operation Rescue see : <http://www.operationrescue.org>

¹⁴³ For video of interview of Kansans for Life leader, Mary Culp by David Brancaccio of PBS’s NOW see : <http://www.pbs.org/now/politics/culp.html#---interview>

¹⁴⁴ “No Opinion” and “Don’t Know” were categories not included within the statistical calculations. There were 25 respondents within the “No Opinion” category and 1 that indicated “Don’t Know”.

¹⁴⁵ Categories of “No Opinion” and “Don’t Know” are not included within the statistical calculations. There were 29 respondents that answered “No Opinion” and 2 that indicated “Don’t Know”.

¹⁴⁶ 5 respondents answered “No Opinion” and 1 answered “Don’t Know”.